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(48)

River Wye — Der Fluss Wye — La Wye. Rivière

Turner's Liber studiorum

William George Rawlinson

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TURNER'S

LIBER STUDIORUM.

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TURNER'S

LIBER STUDIORUM,

A DESCRIPTION AND A CATALOGUE.

SECOND EDITION, REVISED THROUGHOUT.

BY

W. G. RAWLINSON.

London:
MACMILLAN AND CO., LIMITED,
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PREFACE TO THE SECOND EDITION.

Nearly thirty years have now elapsed since the publication of the First Edition of this Catalogue. During that time I have acquired additional information on various points connected with the history of the Liber, as well as with the details of various plates.

As I anticipated, in the case of several plates, 'States' previously unknown to me have come to light, involving a re-numbering, chiefly of the later stages. In two instances I have had to correct my previous descriptions of the 'First Published State,' and in a few cases, those of the 'Second State'; in the Third and later 'States,' a good many alterations have been necessary.

Some new and interesting facts have also come to my knowledge concerning several of the attractive and often puzzling Unpublished Plates. But the most important addition in the present edition is the description of such of the *Engravers'*

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Proofs of each plate as I have met with from time to time. In 1878 I had not had many opportunities of studying these, nor did I then fully realize their importance and their transcendent merits. On this subject I have written fully in the Introduction.

My hearty thanks are due to Mr. Frank Short, A.R.A., for valuable information on technical and other points, constantly afforded; to Mr. J. L. Roget for kind permission to reprint from his *Notes on the Liber Studiorum by Pye and Roget*, many highly interesting and important letters from Charles Turner and other of the Liber engravers, as well as the letters and memoranda of John Pye, accompanying them, all of which will be found in Appendix A; to the Rev. Stopford Brooke for leave to quote from his eloquent and illuminating notices of the Liber, first issued with the Autotype Company's photographic reproductions; last, but not least, to my friend Mr. Edward Dillon, to whom I am deeply indebted for his invaluable aid in the revision of this Catalogue.

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CONTENTS.

PAGE

INTRODUCTION xi

CATALOGUE OF THE PUBLISHED PLATES 1

CATALOGUE OF THE UNPUBLISHED PLATES 167

APPENDIX A. LETTERS FROM TURNER AND VARIOUS ENGRAVERS OF THE LIBER, AND MEMORANDA BY JOHN PYE AND OTHERS 207

APPENDIX B. THE VARYING STYLES OF THE ETCHINGS; WITH LETTERS FROM SIR SEYMOUR HADEN AND MR. RUSKIN . 224

APPENDIX C. REPRODUCTIONS OF THE LIBER BY T. LUPTON, MR. F. SHORT, A.R.A., AND OTHERS 231

NUMERICAL INDEX OF THE PLATES AND THEIR ENGRAVERS . 237

ALPHABETICAL INDEX OF THE PLATES 241

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INTRODUCTION

TO THE

LIBER STUDIORUM.

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INTRODUCTION

TO THE

LIBER STUDIORUM.

THE LIBER STUDIORUM was designed and carried out by Turner in the early-middle period of his career, its publication ranging from 1807, when he was thirty-two, to 1819 when he was forty-four —these twelve years coinciding pretty nearly with what is generally known as his 'second manner' in Art.

In 1806, the year of its inception, Turner's position as the first English landscape-painter of his day was assured. Elected in 1799, at the early age of twenty-four, as an Associate, and in 1802, as a full member of the Royal Academy, his water-colour drawings first, and then his oil pictures, had been received with enthusiastic admiration by his brother artists, by the critics, by the public, and by many wealthy and influential patrons.

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The Liber Studiorum of Turner was suggested by the *Liber Veritatis* of Claude Lorraine, and undertaken in direct rivalry with it. The latter work had been engraved by Earlom from the original drawings, about thirty years previously, and the publishers, Boydell and Co., encouraged by the success of the first two volumes, had just issued a third, to which the same public favour had been accorded.

Rivalry with Claude.

Any doubt as to the connection of the two Libers will, I think, be removed by the following extract from a letter in my possession, written shortly after Turner's death, by Mrs. Wheeler, daughter of the Rev. Henry Trimmer, vicar of Heston, one of Turner's earliest and most intimate friends. In addition to the evidence which it gives as to the origin of the Liber Studiorum, the later part of the letter throws an interesting light on Turner's private character, as seen by one who knew him intimately.

"Sundridge,
"July 27, 1858.

"My dear Mr. Elliot,

"The world are almost as much indebted to my father as to Turner for the exquisite Liber Studiorum, for without him I am sure it never would have existed—he was constantly urging Turner to undertake a work on the plan of Liber Veritatis. I remember over and over again hearing him say—'For your own credit's sake Turner you ought to give a work to the public which will do you justice—if after your death any work injurious to

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your fame should be executed, it then could be compared with the one you yourself gave to the public.' Turner placed implicit confidence in my Father's judgment, but he required much and long continued spurring before he could be urged to undertake Liber Studiorum. At last, after he had been well goaded, one morning, half in a pet he said, 'Zounds, Gaffer, there will be no peace with you till I begin, (he was then staying with us at Knockholt)—well, give me a sheet of paper there, rule the size for me, tell me what subject I shall take'—my father arranged the subjects, Pastoral, Architectural, &c., &c., as they now stand, and before he left us the first five subjects which form the first number were completed and arranged for publication greatly to my dear Father's delight. This was in the October of 1806. I sat by Turner laughing and playing whilst he made the drawings—for his visits to us at Knockholt were one scene of fun and merriment. . . . Turner passed so much of his time with us, and was so completely one of our own family, that all my early recollections are so bound up with him that when my mind travels back to those early days, such a flood of thought and reminiscences of him pour in upon me, that it seems but as yesterday, tho' fifty years are passed and gone since then. In after life of course our paths diverged and we saw less of each other, yet I feel sure that with both of us, there was not the smallest diminution of real affection and true esteem—we each respected the other—and I am sure no two persons (man and wife excepted) ever knew each other to the heart's core better than we did—but enough, it is dangerous to open memory's floodgates. . . .

"Believe me always,
"Your faithful
"and attached friend,
"CLARA WHEELER."

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Claude Lorraine was at that time probably at the height of his fame—in England at all events. Many of his most important pictures had since 1789 been sent for sale to this country from France. The edition of Pilkington's *Dictionary of Art,* which was published in 1805, says of them, that "no price, however great, was thought to be superior to their merit."

Turner was always a great admirer of Claude, and although at the end of his life he must have been conscious of how far he had distanced him, in range of subject, in creative power, and, except in one or two points, in execution, it is nevertheless evident that to the last he regarded him as his greatest rival. When bequeathing in his will a large number of his most important pictures to the nation, he added a stringent condition that two, which he regarded as among the finest, should be hung in perpetuity beside two well-known Claudes.

The Liber Studiorum, then, was to be pitted against the *Liber Veritatis*, but the rivalry of the two works was not a fair one.

For the *Liber Veritatis*, first engraved and given to the world nearly a hundred years after Claude's death, had never been intended for the public eye. The great French painter, finding, even in his lifetime, that copies of his works were being sold as his own, systematically kept a record in the form

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of a pen-and-sepia sketch of every picture as it left his hands. Collecting these into six books and giving on the back of each sketch particulars of the history and the ownership of the picture, he bequeathed them to his family, entailing them for one generation, and calling them his "Libro di Verità," to be used hereafter for the verification and identification of his works. Clearly then he had made no preparation for public view or public criticism, much less for rivalry with others who might choose to enter the lists against him.

But the Liber Studiorum of Turner was designed from the first as a series, not of sketches, but of fully-finished pictures, which were to illustrate his whole range of powers, and to embrace every kind of subject of which he considered himself master. Projected therefore with this aim, the groundwork of every plate the work of his own hand, and each after-stage entrusted to the best engravers of his day over whom he kept strictest supervision, it is not surprising that the *Liber Veritatis* was utterly distanced, and that the Liber Studiorum, produced during twelve years of Turner's life in which many of his strongest, although not his most imaginative pictures appeared, came forth a truly monumental work, taking rank with the highest expressions of his genius.

For although the twelve years of the Liber did not include the central period of Turner's art—

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the period of the *Bay of Baiae*, the two *Mortlakes*, the *Ulysses deriding Polyphemus*, the *Old Téméraire*, and the *Richmondshire* and *England and Wales* drawings—it was contemporary with the *Sun Rising through Vapour*, the *Crossing the Brook* and the *Frosty Morning*, of the National Gallery; with the *Trout Stream*, the *Mercury and Hersé*, the *Guardship at the Nore* and other great sea-pieces, in private collections.

English Landscape Art in 1806.

In looking at the art of the period—the beginning of the nineteenth century—it will be seen, I think, that in England, landscape by itself had only just begun to be recognised as a fitting subject for important pictures. The works of Claude Lorraine and Gaspar Poussin, which had held sway in Europe during the eighteenth century, were founded almost exclusively on classical story or legend, to which the landscape was ostensibly only the background. Of the great Englishmen of the eighteenth century, Hogarth, I believe, had painted no landscapes, and Reynolds (alas!) very few. Gainsborough from the first had shown his love for English scenery in his beautiful pictures of his native Suffolk, painted in the manner of the seventeenth-century Dutchmen. In his later, more ambitious style, he had, it is true, carried what may almost be called pure landscape to a higher point than it had reached since the death of Rubens, Cuyp, Hobbema, and De Koninck.

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But Gainsborough's was still a more or less artificial, a 'composed' landscape, and the traditional 'brown manner,' then considered obligatory for all landscape art, had crippled even his dauntless, innovating brush. Richard Wilson—in a sense more natural in his style—although his Roman pictures had enjoyed a brief popularity, had retired neglected to his native Wales, and had died there almost forgotten. Crome, who was producing some of his finest works, was obtaining trifling prices for them, and probably owed more to the local interest of his subjects than to the perception of their transcendent merits. Nearly all his pictures were bought in Norfolk, and he depended mainly for his income on teaching drawing among the county families. Cotman too was supporting himself almost entirely by teaching, and found even fewer buyers than Crome. De Wint's superb oil pictures were almost unsaleable. Constable, whose landscapes were a few years later to startle the art-world of Paris, and to revolutionise landscape painting in France and through half Europe, was as yet but little thought of at home, and counted himself passing rich in getting a hundred guineas for his large picture of Salisbury Cathedral. The Water-Colour painters too, who from the first had gone more or less simply to nature for their inspiration, had only lately found courage to gather themselves into a Society, and to open an Exhibition of their own.

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The Subjects.

The subjects of the Liber Studiorum, a hundred in number, were partly invented or composed by Turner expressly for the work, partly taken direct from nature, and partly adopted from pictures or drawings which he had already painted. They were classified in a quaint manner, characteristic both of Turner and of the time, under the following six headings, each to be indicated on the print by its initial letter:

Architectural (A).
Pastoral (P).
Elegant Pastoral (E. P.[1])
Marine (M).
Mountainous (M[s] or M).
Historical (H).

A prospectus of the work was issued in 1807, in the following form, "Proposals for the publishing one hundred Landscapes to be designed and etched by J. M. W. Turner, R.A., and Engraved in Mezzotinto. It is intended in this publication to attempt a classification of the various styles of landscape, viz., the historic, mountainous, pastoral, marine, and architectural."[2]

[1] Mr. J. L. Roget, in his *Notes by Pye and Roget on Turner's Liber Studiorum*, 1879, following John Pye's view, is at considerable pains to prove that "E. P." was intended by Turner to signify *Epic* Pastoral. His reasons, however, do not seem to me sufficiently convincing to disturb the traditional interpretation given above.

[2] The existence of this early prospectus was unknown, until

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Turner would seem originally to have contemplated distributing the plates in equally assorted numbers of each class, but this was not carried out. Of the seventy published, the proportions were as follows:—Pastoral, 14; Elegant Pastoral, 14; Mountainous, 12; Architectural, 11; Marine, 11; Historical, 8; nor, as far as can be judged, would the Unpublished subjects have made the proportions right.

The Drawings.

The DRAWINGS for the work were mostly made in sepia, as in the case of the *Liber Veritatis*, and as a rule they were of the size which had been chosen for the Prints. They vary in character, some being slight and others more elaborate in handling. Their tone also varies considerably. Most are of the pleasant cool brown of sepia, but in some, bistre has been admixed, giving a more sombre hue; others are red or 'foxy' from the addition of umber.

In one or two instances (*Dunstanborough*, for example,) the combination of these different browns gives almost the effect of colour. Whether this was intentional I am not sure, but in the Liber engravings it is clear that Turner—who was too great a man to neglect even the smallest points of detail—paid much attention to the colour of the

recently, when a criticism of it, in a short-lived journal called *The Review of Publications in Art*, 1808, was unearthed by Mr. J. L. Roget (*Pye and Roget*, p. 22).

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ink used in printing. On the margin of an engraver's proof of *Norham Castle* (Pl. 57) are the following instructions in the painter's handwriting, and others of the same nature exist:

"This is the colour I wish—but it must be observed that the same ink will not on all the plates produce the same effect—therefore two or more colours must be used, so that all the prints may appear the same tint. When the printer is well set in please to let me know. The three prints I have sent are more of the bistre colour than yours, and a fine rich bistre colour is the tint I want."

The Liber Drawings are essentially drawings for engravers, and not sketches in the true sense of the word; they are admirably fitted for their purpose of guidance to the engraver, but they are also limited by that very fitness, and they have neither the freshness and directness which mark no man's sketches more than Turner's, nor the subtle and supremely delicate finish which no man knew better than he how to give when he desired it. They are, I think, no more to be taken as characteristic Turner drawings, than are his later coloured drawings for the vignette engravers. In both cases, the limitation in expression, by the very reason of their fitness for a special purpose, is apparent. Yet they have frequently been copied, and by painters, including John Varley and J. S. Cotman, both Turner's contemporaries.

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Fifty-one of the Drawings were left by Turner to the nation; these, after having been exhibited for several years at South Kensington, are now in the Turner rooms at the National Gallery. In 1899 a considerable number which had belonged to the late Mr. Henry Vaughan were added by his bequest to the National collection, and five or six more have been discovered among the vast number of sketches by Turner at Trafalgar Square. Three are in the Print Room of the British Museum, and a few still remain in private hands. It is to be hoped that all may eventually be reunited in the National Gallery. There are several of the Liber plates for which no Drawings can be traced, but a good many of these were engraved by Turner himself direct from oil pictures previously painted, and for them probably no sepia Drawings were needed.

Methods of Engraving.

The engraving of the Liber Studiorum was from the first a matter of the utmost care with Turner. Attracted it is said by the fine series of landscape plates which Paul Sandby, R.A., had engraved some years earlier from his own drawings, also undoubtedly by the more recent *Views in Paris*, the last work of his early friend and associate, Thomas Girtin, and further by the fine *Views in India*, and *Views in London* of William Daniell, R.A.—all in aquatint—he first decided to employ that medium, in con-

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junction with a foundation of etching. Accordingly he agreed with F. C. Lewis, the best aquatint engraver of the day, who at that very time was at work on facsimiles of Claude's sepia drawings, to proceed with the first plate—*The Bridge and Goats* (afterwards issued as Pl. 43).[1] The understanding seems to have been that Turner should make the preliminary etching on the copper, and Lewis add the aquatint upon it; the payment for the latter being fixed at five guineas a plate.

Whilst, however, Lewis was at work upon this first plate, which had been etched by Turner as agreed, the painter—as we find from a letter still preserved[2]—sent him another Drawing, *Chepstow Castle* (afterwards called *River Wye*, Pl. 48), with a request that he would either engrave it without an etching, or, if he found himself unable to do that, etch the plate himself, leaving it to Turner to add to or correct the etching, *over* the aquatint. The correspondence shows that Lewis proposed to adopt the latter plan, and, considering that for the additional work he was entitled to additional pay, he appears—not unreasonably—to have raised his certainly very moderate charge to eight guineas a plate.

Turner, however, in his next letter[3] acknow-

[1] See Catalogue, Pl. 43, footnote.
[2] See Appendix A, Letter 3.
[3] Appendix A, Letter 4.

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ledges the receipt from Lewis of a Proof of the first plate, which, with certain criticisms, he praises, saying that the effect of the Drawing is well preserved; but he curtly adds that the price having been raised to eight guineas, he must decline to have the second Drawing engraved, and he requests that it may be returned to him with the first plate. He further adds, characteristically, that when both have arrived safely, the five guineas due for the first shall be left at Salisbury Street (Lewis's address), where he asks that a receipt for the money may be in readiness.

This ended Lewis's connection with the Liber, and although we may rejoice that the dispute led to the finer medium of mezzotint being employed in place of aquatint, it will probably be thought that the engraver was fully justified in the course he took. His original charge was low enough; he was getting at the time abundant employment, and, as he tells us, much higher prices for engraving facsimiles of drawings by the old masters; whilst the alterations which Turner proposed were a departure from the original contract, and would undoubtedly have thrown on him much additional and troublesome work. It will be seen, however,[1] that he recognised the high importance of the Liber, and later in life regretted that for fame's

[1] Appendix A, Letter 5.

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sake he had not thrown aside the consideration of this extra labour, which he tells us had influenced him more than the question of the remuneration.

After the break with Lewis, Turner appears to have directed his thoughts to Mezzotint as the medium to be employed for the Liber plates. Mezzotint had hitherto been used almost exclusively for portrait engraving, and it was to his namesake, Charles Turner, the foremost man of this school, that he next applied. Charles Turner had already in 1805 very successfully engraved a large mezzotint plate from Turner's *Shipwreck*, but he had had no experience of landscape work, beyond the slight backgrounds of the portraits in which Lawrence, Northcote and others still followed occasionally, the traditions of their great predecessors, Reynolds and Gainsborough.

There is a tradition that the painter was much impressed by the rapidity and ease of the mezzotint process, as he saw it used by Charles Turner, and that he set to work at it himself. But although nothing is more likely, no traces of any such early experiments by Turner have survived. There is, it is true, a series of eleven charming small mezzotint engravings, mostly unfinished and all of excessive rarity, sometimes called '*The Sequels to the Liber*' or '*The Little Liber*.' The plates of these, evidently engraved by Turner's own hand, were found in his house at his death. Nothing is known either as to

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the exact date of their execution, or of what Turner's intentions were with regard to them. It is certain, at least, that they did not precede but followed the Liber period, as many of them are on steel, and that metal was not used in England for engraving until after 1820. Some practice in mezzotinting, however, Turner must surely have had before 1811, as in that year he was able to engrave himself, with absolute success, *The Junction of the Severn and Wye*, one of the finest plates of the Liber.

Be this as it may, a combination of etching and mezzotint was finally adopted as the method of reproducing the Liber designs. That is to say, the great leading lines of each plate—the skeleton, so to speak—were first etched on the copper, in nearly every case by Turner himself, and all the rest—the details, the light and shade, the whole of the sky, and the atmospheric effects—were added in mezzotint over Turner's etched foundation, by various professional engravers, all working under his minute and constant supervision.

It will be observed that the object aimed at was to give in the main, but more elaborately, the effect of the drawings of the *Liber Veritatis*. Claude's sketches were outlined with the reed-pen, and the shadows washed in in monotone with the brush. In the Liber Studiorum, the etching was to represent the pen-work, and the mezzotint the brush-work.

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The late Mr. Hamerton, writing with practical experience (*Etching and Etchers*, 1st Ed., Chap. II, p. 81) thus lucidly explains the nature of the two processes employed, and the method of their combination:

"An etched shade, as the reader is already aware, is produced by lines which are drawn with a point on a varnished plate (the point removing the varnish where it passes), and afterwards bitten-in with aquafortis; but a shade in mezzotint is *left*, and the passages in mezzotint which are perfectly white are the places where the plate has been scraped till the bur is all gone, and then polished with a burnisher. When etching and mezzotint are used in combination on the same plate, the etching is done first, and in simple lines, which are bitten-in more deeply than they would be if the plate were intended to remain a pure etching; then the plate is roughened all over with a tool . . . which produces *bur*,—that is, a raising of little points of copper. These little points, which are raised by millions, all catch the ink in printing, and would yield an intense black if they were not removed. They are accordingly partially removed with the scraper when lighter darks are required, and the lighter the passage the more the bur is cleared away, till finally in high lights it is removed altogether, and the plate in these places is burnished. Now, the difference between etching with a view to mezzotint, and etching with no such intention, is very great. The etcher for mezzotint is satisfied with selecting and laying down the most necessary and expressive lines,—the great guiding lines,—and does not trouble himself about shading, except so far as to leave the plate in a condition to be shaded properly in mezzotint: whereas the worker in pure etching

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not only gives the selected and expressive guiding lines, but portions of shade along with them, and at the same time."

The Etchings.

It has already been stated that the Etchings of the Liber were in most cases the work of Turner himself. After he had executed one or two however, he was desirous to turn over this important matter to his engravers; but he found them either unable or unwilling to relieve him of the task which henceforward he himself almost invariably carried out. Fortunately, he had several impressions of each Etching struck off before mezzotinting was added. For what purpose these were taken, cannot now be ascertained; so far as I can learn, Turner was not known to have sold them.

These Etchings of the Liber are of the utmost interest. They well merit Mr. Hamerton's assertion that they are "the strongest things done in modern times with the etching-needle." For grasp of the essential lines of a picture, and for expression of those lines in the simplest and most direct way—yet without restraining or interfering with the freedom and delicacy of the light and shade and tone to be afterwards added,—they seem to me unsurpassed, even by such a master of the 'shorthand' of landscape as Rembrandt. It is true that they are only etchings for mezzotint—true, too, that of necessity they do not

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attempt to render any of the light and shade, or the atmospheric effects which are peculiarly the province of Turner, and in which his genius was supreme. But they show his truth and freedom of tree drawing, his power of indicating in two or three strokes the whole nature and structure of rocks, his consummate knowledge of the lines of water and of reflections on water, and his unerring subtlety and harmony of composition. And these characteristics of Turner are seen in the Etchings all the more clearly from their extreme simplicity. The more they are studied, the greater is the sense of their restrained power, and also, in many cases, of their extreme beauty. I quote again from Mr. Hamerton's admirable remarks on Turner as an Etcher (*Etching and Etchers*, Chap. II):—

"Turner was a first-rate etcher *au trait*, but he did not trust himself to carry out chiaroscuro in etching, and habitually resorted to mezzotint for his light and shade. His etchings were always done from the beginning with reference to the whole arrangement of the chiaroscuro, and he never laid a line with the needle without entire understanding of its utility in effect. But the effect itself, in Turner's etchings, is always reserved for mezzotint. . . . The power of Turner as an etcher was his power of selecting main lines, and drawing them firmly and vigorously. In this respect no landscape etcher ever surpassed him; and if his etchings are studied as examples of line selection, they can do nothing but good, if we only bear in mind that they are preparations for mezzotint.

"Another point that we cannot safely lose sight of is,

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that they were not intended to be printed in black, but in a rich reddish brown, so that the fear of over-biting was considerably lessened, and in the heavy foreground markings Turner did not hesitate to corrode the lines to such a depth that the paper was really embossed in the printing, and a student of art who had become blind might recognize a particular plate by passing his fingers over the back of the impressed proof. One of the most curious instances of this is the 'Jason' in the 'Liber Studiorum.' There is a shadow under the tree to the left which is like the bars of a portcullis. The scales of the dragon, the heavy indications of trees, the foreground markings of vegetation, are all so bitten that the paper shows them behind in deeply sunk hollows. From these tremendous corrosions Turner passed to light indications of distance, as, for instance, in the unpublished plate of Dumbarton, which gives one of the most delicate and charming distances ever etched. There is a small rough etching of Eton[1] with a man ploughing, without mezzotint, which is a good instance of Turner's tendencies in biting, and is one of the most interesting of his attempts, because it shows in exaggeration the sort of quality he aimed at in etching. . . . From a desire to economise time, or perhaps simply from imitation of Claude's 'Liber Veritatis,' Turner never relied upon etching to render effect, and does not seem ever to have studied it as an independent art. The kind of work he aimed at in etching was an indication of form, like the pen-work with which he would often add firmness and precision to a sepia drawing. The wash with the brush was to be imitated in mezzotint, and the difference between his combination of sepia and pen-drawing, and his combination of mezzotint and etching, was chiefly a difference in the order of procedure. When

[1] Pl. 79 Unpublished. The First Etching, A 1.

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he worked on paper, the broad washes were first given, and the pen-markings added at the last; but when he worked on copper, the lines were etched first, and then the shades added by himself or another engraver. This reversal of method offered, of course, no difficulty whatever to Turner, who, having a perfect hold of his subject, could treat it in any way he liked; and what I infer from his choice of this combination is, that Turner was not really anxious to produce etchings as etchings, but merely used etching and mezzotint as the most convenient processes for rendering his sepia studies. In this want of an etcher's ambition lies the distinction between Turner and some other great men that have etched. He made use of etching as an auxiliary, and etched well within the limits of the sort of etching he proposed to himself, but he never tried what the process was capable of. . . .

"It would not be right to leave Turner without acknowledgment of the very unusual *manliness* of his manner as an etcher—a manliness unfortunately rare in the English school. His grasp of rock and tree and mountain, his feeling of wildness on desolate moor and black tarn, his fisherman's sense of the strength of stout old boats, his understanding generally of the nature of material resistance in everything, are so masculine, that a few touches of his reveal more of the true nature of matter in any form than the most laboured work of our imitative school."

The Mezzotinting.

The mezzotinting of the plates of the Liber was undertaken by the painter's namesake, but not relative, Charles Turner (afterwards A.R.A.), probably the most distinguished portrait engraver of the day. It was originally arranged that he should engrave the whole

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work, but after the first twenty plates had appeared, the two men quarrelled. There is no doubt that this quarrel originally arose about pecuniary matters. Charles Turner, like Lewis, considered himself insufficiently paid, especially as, in addition to the duties of engraving, Turner had induced him to undertake the publication and sale of the work. He had received for his whole trouble only eight guineas a plate, and he required an advance to ten guineas, which Turner declined to grant. This rate of payment was undoubtedly very small, compared with the prices which engravers were then receiving, and Turner, as will be seen later, could have afforded to pay more. Other causes, which are described in the letters of Charles Turner printed in Appendix A, contributed to the rupture. The painter and engraver however, were reconciled after many years. Charles Turner resumed his work on the Liber, and afterwards executed some of the mezzotint plates of the *Rivers of England.* He was also one of Turner's executors.

After this quarrel, Turner employed several other mezzotint engravers. Their work was as a rule extremely good, owing not only to their own merits, without which they would not have been chosen, but also, in no small degree, to the constant supervision which Turner exercised over them; a supervision which his own now consummate practical knowledge of their art rendered most effective. Evidence

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of this may be seen in many of the Touched Proofs, on the margins of which, in the painter's handwriting, are instructions and corrections for the engravers, sometimes curt in manner and often imperfect in expression, but all showing the minute care with which he followed the work, and how definite and precise were his intentions as to every detail of every plate. Particulars of many such notes will be found in the Catalogue.

William Say, who succeeded Charles Turner, and engraved the next largest number of the Liber plates—eleven—was a portrait engraver of the highest standing;[1] several of his plates—for example, *The Coast of Yorkshire* (Pl. 24), *Windmill and Lock* (Pl. 27), *The Chain of the Alps from Grenoble* (Pl. 49), rank with the best in the Liber.

Dunkarton, who follows, was also a fine portrait engraver; five plates of the Liber are his work, including *The Hindoo Worshipper* (Pl. 23), *Hind Head Hill* (Pl. 25), and *Rizpah* (Pl. 46).

George Clint was a painter as well as engraver, and he afterwards became an Associate of the Royal Academy. He achieved such perfect success with the only two plates entrusted to him, *Procris and Cephalus* (Pl. 41), and *Peat Bog* (Pl. 45), that it is to be regretted that he executed no others.

Easling's work in the *Frontispiece* and *Winchelsea*

[1] The Print Room of the British Museum is fortunate in possessing a complete series of proofs of his engravings, presented by his son.

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(Pl. 42) was excellent; and conjointly with Annis —who engraved but one plate throughout himself, *River Wye* (Pl. 48)—he mezzotinted the beautiful *Mildmay Sea-Piece* (Pl. 40).

S. W. Reynolds engraved two plates only, and S. Hodgetts three. The latter was a quite inferior craftsman, and none of his plates are successful. H. Dawe, a far more capable engraver, was employed chiefly towards the end of the work, and several of the Unpublished plates are by his hand. The Etchings also of *The Mill near the Grand Chartreuse* (Pl. 54), *Raglan* (Pl. 58), *Source of the Arveron* (Pl. 60), and *Bonneville* (Pl. 64), are believed to be by him, but with after-work by Turner on some of them.

Thomas Lupton, Turner's latest engraver, who died only in 1873, deserves a high place. His first plate, *Solway Moss* (Pl. 52), was a brilliant success; so was also *Ben Arthur* (Pl. 69). Four of the Published plates are from his hand, and two of the Unpublished. He was afterwards employed by Turner on his *Rivers of England* and *Ports of England*, and his work in landscape mezzotint is of the highest order.

F. C. Lewis, the first engraver of the Liber, has already been alluded to;[1] one plate only, in aquatint, *The Bridge and Goats* (Pl. 43), is his.

[1] Page xxii.

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Sixty out of the seventy-one published plates have now been accounted for. The eleven remaining were engraved throughout by Turner himself, and are of the highest interest. What is perhaps most noticeable about them is the *freedom* with which, from the first, he handled engravers' tools. Although he could have had but very little practice, his first plate—the beautiful *Junction of Severn and Wye* (Pl. 28)—is surprisingly successful, notwithstanding that the Etching shows that there had evidently been either some mishaps at that stage, or some experiments which had failed.

Turner's mezzotinting is very different in its handling from that of the professional engravers. In some cases this is very marked. For example, in the exquisite, gem-like, central picture of the *Frontispiece*—which alas can only be really seen in the first six or seven impressions—the mezzotinting of the sea, and of the light fleecy clouds just melting into the sky, seems as if it was *painted* on, as if with a brush. And so with all Turner's own plates, *e.g.*, *Inverary Pier* (Pl. 35), *Crypt of Kirkstall Abbey* (Pl. 39), *Calm* (Pl. 44), *Calais Harbour* (Pl. 55), *Æsacus and Hesperie* (Pl. 66)—to mention only a few—there is a distinction and a charm which raises them above ordinary engravers' work. In the last-named, (*Æsacus and Hesperie*), the mezzotinting of the complicated passages of light and shade, and of

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the intricate details of the branches of the glade, is an extraordinarily skilful piece of technique.

But some of Turner's triumphs in engraving were dearly purchased. His work on the copper was in several cases so delicate that it only survived a few —sometimes a very few—impressions, and although he was extraordinarily skilful and resourceful in repairing the plates, still, the first 'bloom' once lost, could never be entirely regained.

Deterioration in Printing.

The deterioration of every mezzotint plate is rapid as printing goes on. The minute raised particles of the copper soon wear down, owing chiefly to the friction necessary in cleaning the plate after printing each impression, and also to the mere repeated impact of the paper on the metal in going through the press. Accordingly, the parts which originally were most raised, now retain less ink, giving the darks a lighter effect; whilst the lights, which were scraped and burnished smooth on the copper, losing that smoothness, attract ink, and become suffused with colour. The balance of the plate is thus doubly affected. It is reckoned that by the time twenty-five to thirty impressions have been taken from a mezzotint copper-plate, much of the original effect will usually have been lost,[1] and even in these thirty, considerable differences will be seen between the

[1] See Pye's Memorandum with reference to this subject as regards the Liber, in Appendix A, p. 222.

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first and the last ten. There is, however, great variation in the wear of copper-plates, arising from the different handling of different engravers, from the metal itself being harder or softer, and from the greater or less care bestowed on the printing.

Deterioration being apparent, the copper-plate has to be re-touched from time to time; alterations may be necessary, and even if the repairs are skilfully executed, the subsequent impressions are rarely, if ever, the same as before. The differences caused by this retouching, constitute what will be found described in the Catalogue as the 'States' of the Liber Studiorum. This word 'States,' as I have explained more fully at the beginning of the Catalogue, is also sometimes used to describe the various stages in the engraving of a plate, *before* its completion, viz., in the 'Trial' or 'Progress' Proofs taken by the Engraver from time to time, either for his own guidance or to be submitted to the painter. These I term *Engraver's Proofs*, no matter at what stage they were taken, and I shall specially allude to them later. The word 'States' I have applied only to the impressions taken from the copper-plate *after* the latest 'Engraver's Proof' had been approved by Turner.

'States.'

It is believed that he himself almost invariably executed the re-touching which the wear of the copper-plates rendered necessary, and the skill and resource which he displayed in this delicate work

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was extraordinary. At the first repair, his efforts would naturally be directed to restore, as far as possible, the original effect, and the 'Second States' of most plates show that this was often fairly successfully attained, though always with some inevitable loss of richness and 'bloom.'

By the time these first repairs had themselves worn down—say after another thirty impressions had been taken—serious deterioration would again be apparent everywhere. Then a further re-touching would be needed, and often, the drastic re-mezzo-tinting of the copper-plate all over. This would constitute the 'Third State'; a 'Fourth,' and sometimes a 'Fifth,' or even a 'Sixth State' would follow in the same way. Usually the inferiority of these to the earlier stages is very marked. But in some cases, Turner's skill was so great, that he would impart to a later 'State' of a plate, a quite new effect, and even a more beautiful one. *The Calm* (Pl. 44) is a well-known example of this, whilst in *The Hindoo Worshipper* (Pl. 23), *Hind Head Hill* (Pl. 25), *Inverary Pier* (Pl. 35), *Scene in the Campagna* (Pl. 38), and *Source of the Arveron* (Pl. 60), good impressions of some of the later States appear to me extremely attractive in their altered form. Turner's efforts in his repairs were always directed to keep the balance of light and shade true. If the dark parts had become lighter from wear, he would make the light passages more

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brilliant; and *vice versa*, if the lights had become suffused with ink, he would deepen the darks, to compensate. Examples of his taste, resource, and technical skill in repairing and retouching, will be found throughout the Liber. It should, however, be mentioned that all repairs, alterations or additions to a mezzotint copper-plate wear down in printing with astonishing rapidity, and their effect can often only be properly seen in the first two or three impressions.

At first, the repairs on the Liber plates were indicated in the customary way by alterations in the lettering, *i.e.*, by darkening the capitals of the title, etc.; but very soon, Turner, finding probably that this gave too much information to purchasers, substituted minute marks in the margin—dots, lines, or faint letters—which would be recognized by himself alone. There is no doubt that he sold, intentionally, as 'Proofs'—'First States' they would now be called—impressions from plates which had been once, twice, or even thrice retouched. Nominally, 'Proofs' were double the price of 'Prints,' but actually, the impressions were issued almost indiscriminately, the only difference being in the price. No subscriber's copy of the work is known to have really contained 'First States' alone, though many were sold as such.[1]

[1] The late Mr. Halsted, the dealer, told me that he once bought a copy of which forty plates were 'First States,' but of the many

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Comparative Value of Impressions.

In estimating the comparative importance of the various impressions of a Liber plate, it will not unnaturally be supposed that the most desirable will be in every case, those of the First Published State, inasmuch as they represent the plate in the condition in which Turner had finally approved it. But during recent years I have had opportunities of closely studying the 'Engravers' Proofs' of the Liber, and I have no hesitation in saying, that as displaying the plates in their *superlatively* finest and freshest conditions, these stand supreme. In some cases, indeed, it is *only* in them that Turner's intentions can be really seen, so rapid was the deterioration of the mezzotinting in printing.

No doubt some of the early Trial Proofs are so incomplete, and others so heavily laden with ink, that although they may be extremely interesting as showing the history and development of a plate, they cannot be said to be beautiful. No doubt also it may seem that there can be no great difference between the last Engravers' Proof and the first Published impression, which must immediately have followed it. But it must be remembered that that very softness which makes copper so responsive a metal to the engraver's touch, renders it also extremely sensitive to the friction involved in

which had passed through his hands, no other had ever reached this number.

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the 'wiping out' and printing processes. In truth, each single impression taken from a copper mezzotint plate produces a certain, and often a very perceptible effect on the delicacy and richness of the work. And further, the Engravers' Proofs having all been intended, either to be submitted to Turner for his approval, or to be kept by the engravers as their own perquisites, the greatest possible care was invariably taken in their printing—the engraver himself usually standing by the press and superintending the process. This is a most vital point with engravings of all kinds; and scarcely less important is the subsequent care which is generally taken of such choice impressions.

But there is still another point which enhances the importance of the Engravers' Proofs. Turner often made great changes during the progress of the engraving of a plate, and, presumptuous as it may appear, I venture to think that in not a few instances these changes were not for the better. Towards the early middle part of his career and onwards, his prolific imaginative sense led him to crowd his pictures, and especially his engravings, with too many figures, too many lights, too much detail. In the Liber, this led in several cases—for example in *River Wye* (Pl. 48), and more prominently in *Mill near the Grand Chartreuse* (Pl. 54), and *Source of the Arveron* (Pl. 60)—to the destruction of the fine simplicity and impressiveness of the original conception.

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I believe that a careful comparison of the Engravers' Proofs with even the finest 'First Published States' of the Liber, taken as a whole, cannot fail to establish the almost invariable superiority of the former.

It is sometimes supposed that the high prices which these choice early Proofs of Engravings of all classes command, are to be accounted for only by their rarity. But the instinct which has led all the great print collectors of the past—the Barnards, Esdailes, Stokeses, Vaughans, and a host of others —to acquire whenever possible, even at a high cost, such 'Proof' impressions, is a sound one, and there can be no doubt that such a course, judiciously pursued, gives the best results from an art, no less than from a mere money point of view.

As regards the Published impressions, the 'First States' are of course much the most desirable. Early impressions however of the 'Second State' are sometimes equal to late 'First States,' and occasionally they are even superior. Those who carefully choose early 'Second States' will still get, in the main, the plate with much of its original character, though always with a perceptible loss in the more delicate parts. Some plates even in the 'Third State' are fine, and many are fairly good, but all should be chosen with caution. After the 'Third State' the plate has usually (though not invariably) so much deteriorated that much of its beauty and value has disappeared. Nevertheless,

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impressions continued to be taken by Turner from the copper-plates, even when they had become hopelessly dull, in fact the merest wrecks.

Printing.

The Liber plates were printed by Lahee of Castle Street, a very skilful craftsman. A fine hand-woven ribbed paper was employed, made in Auvergne expressly for printing mezzotints. It was silky in texture, but extremely durable and tough. Its softness, joined with its great tenacity, enabled it to penetrate the deeply-bitten etched lines, as well as the minute interstices between the tiny raised points of the mezzotinting, and so to extract every particle of ink from the surface of the copper. Whatman paper was occasionally used for the later 'States,' as it was almost invariably for the Etchings.

Turner was in the habit of constantly visiting Lahee's printing-office to watch the effects of new plates, and the results of his alterations and repairs of old ones. Standing by the press, he would examine each impression as it came off, and with needle, scraper, or burnisher make such changes or retouches on the copper as he thought desirable; sometimes, indeed, getting the plate into such a condition that it had to be entirely reworked.

Publication.

The Liber Studiorum made its first appearance in 1807. It was issued in Parts, each Part containing five plates, stitched in an unpretending bluish-grey wrapper, initialed on

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the outside by Turner. He published the first Part himself at his house in Harley Street. Then he induced Charles Turner, his engraver, to undertake this duty, and the latter's address (50, Warren Street, Fitzroy Square) appeared on each subsequent plate until the quarrel in 1809. After that time Turner resumed the publication, dating the plates from his new house in Queen Anne Street, where he received subscriptions, and afterwards sold the work in its complete form.

Such a course was at that time quite usual, both with painters and engravers; the modern custom, by which engravings are usually the venture of an independent publisher, although not then unknown, was the exception rather than the rule. The leading engravers of that day—Charles Turner, Lewis, Say, and others—habitually published and sold their own works, nor was this considered in any way below the dignity of a Royal Academician.

The prices charged by Turner were moderate enough. At first each Part, containing five plates, was sold at £1 5*s*. for Proofs, and 15*s*. for Prints; subsequently the charge was raised to, Proofs, £2 2*s*., Prints, £1 1*s*.

Advertising.

Mention has already been made of a prospectus of the work which was issued in 1807, and noticed in 1808 in *The Review of Publications in Art*. The following pencil note to Charles Turner in the painter's handwriting, on the

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margin of a Proof of the *Lake of Thun* (published in 1808), in the collection of the late Mr. J. E. Taylor, shows that other arrangements had been made for advertising, but had miscarried.

"Respecting advertising, you know full well that everything ought to have been done long ago!! I have not seen a word in the papers) take it away again from the times [*sic*]. if you can get advertised anywhere do so. my room will close in a fortnight, the plates not done not advertised, in short everything has conspired against the work."

Much later, in 1816, the following advertisement was stitched as a flysheet, into one of the periodical numbers of the *Southern Coast of England*, then in course of publication by Cooke.

"Turner's 'Liber Studiorum,' published February 1, 1816. The eleventh and twelfth numbers of 'Liber Studiorum,' by J. M. W. Turner, R.A. In continuation of the second volume of this work, intended as an illustration of Landscape Composition, classed as follows: Historical, Mountainous, Pastoral, Marine, and Architectural. Each number contains five engravings in mezzotinto; one subject of each class: engraved by C. Turner, W. Say, T. Lupton, H. Daw, and T. Hogetts. The whole work will be comprised in twenty numbers, forming two volumes; ten numbers of which are published, containing fifty engravings, including some subjects from pictures painted by the author, in the possession of different noblemen and gentlemen.—Proofs, £2 2*s*. each number. Prints, £1 1*s*. do.—Subscriptions received at Mr. Turner's, Queen Anne Street, Harley Street.

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The Parts appeared at very varying intervals—Part I in 1807, II and III in 1808,[1] and IV in 1809. Two years then elapsed, and in 1811 came Parts V, VI and VII. The next year, 1812, Parts VIII, IX and X were issued; and with VIII was included, gratis, *The Frontispiece.* From 1812 onwards, Turner was busily occupied in making drawings for Cooke's *Southern Coast of England* and other illustrated works, as well as with numerous commissions for oil pictures and water-colour drawings. Accordingly the production of the Liber was delayed, and it was not until 1816 that Parts XI and XII appeared. It will be noticed that the painter's growing power becomes very manifest as the work progresses.

Dates of Issue.

For three years more the issue of the Liber was suspended, although many of the plates were ready for publication, and it was not until January, 1819, that Parts XIII and XIV—the last ever published—appeared.

The original plan had embraced a hundred plates, and of these only seventy had as yet been issued. Of the thirty remaining, twenty were in various stages of completion, some few apparently all but finished;

The Unpublished Plates and Drawings.

[1] This was the year of Turner's appointment as Professor of Perspective to the Royal Academy; accordingly, on all the plates of this and several succeeding Parts, 'P.P.' will be found added to the 'R.A.' after his name.

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but the work was now stopped, and these twenty copper-plates laid aside, some to disappear entirely, and the others not again to see the light until after Turner's death in 1851.

A sufficient number of Drawings had been prepared to more than make up the hundred plates planned, but several had not been commenced in engraving; nearly all of these are fortunately now in the National Gallery, along with those for the Published plates, which were bequeathed by Turner to the nation. From these unengraved Drawings, as well as from the rare Engraver's Proofs of the unpublished plates, it will be seen how greatly the fame of the Liber would have been increased had the work been completed. Turner was often urged in later years both by Griffiths his agent, and by collectors of the Liber, to complete the work; but he invariably declined and refused even to talk of the unpublished plates and the unengraved Drawings.

Causes of the want of success.

There is no doubt that the Liber Studiorum, like nearly all the engraved work of Turner, was, at the time of its publication, pecuniarily a failure. We have seen that a year after its first appearance, Turner wrote of it to his engraver,—"everything has conspired against the work."—Several causes I think conduced to this want of success.

In the first place, although Turner from his

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earliest appearance as an exhibitor at the Royal Academy had been appreciated by his brother artists, as well as by the critics and the public, he was in advance of his age. 'Classical' art, so called, still held sway in England. Claude, Poussin, and Salvator Rosa, whose landscapes were then the idols of English connoisseurs, speaking broadly, either presented natural scenery as merely a background to human actions, or, if they gave it more prominence, some incident of classic or sacred story was still necessary as the nominal *motif* of their pictures. The modern love of Nature for her own sake was not yet fully developed. Scott was only beginning to be known, Wordsworth and Shelley had scarcely made themselves heard outside a narrow circle. And although the Liber contained a good deal of the classical element, still, taken as a whole, it presented a bolder, fresher, more daring treatment of nature—nature alone, in all her passing moods, and for her own sake—than the English public was as yet accustomed to.

Secondly, the irregularity in the issue of the work was no doubt a serious drawback to its success. Subscribers naturally objected to wait two, three, and four years for instalments, and then to be expected to take and pay for several numbers within a month or two of one another. Probably also many of them had discovered that whilst they had paid for 'Proofs' they had really received

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mainly 'Prints.' The fact was, I regret to say, the earlier and choicer impressions had been mostly kept back by Turner. After a long litigation over his will, the Court of Chancery in 1873 sanctioned the sale at Christie's of the vast mass of engravings from his works which were found in his house at his death, and amongst these was a large number of impressions of the Liber in the finest 'States.' Indeed, 'First States' which up to that time had been so scarce as to be practically unobtainable, appeared in parcels of a dozen or more each, and from these a number of complete sets of the work were made up, in which every plate was in the 'First State'—a thing almost unknown before.

Thirdly, another cause, and that probably the most important of all, had contributed to the pecuniary failure of the work. I allude to Turner's illiberal and impolitic treatment of the printsellers, as described in the letter of Messrs. Colnaghi, printed in Appendix A, p. 218.

A curious, involved memorandum of the estimated cost and profits of the early portion of the Liber has recently been unearthed by Mr. Finberg in one of Turner's pocket-books, during his work of arranging and cataloguing the sketches in the National Gallery. This, contrary to what has been hitherto supposed, so far as it can be made out, seems to show a clear probability of a balance in the painter's favour, and there is little doubt that if Turner had

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allowed, as apparently he could have afforded, a reasonable commission to the printsellers, they would have successfully distributed the work amongst their clients, to the advantage of all concerned. But, as Messrs. Colnaghi's letter shows, he could not bring himself to part with any of his profits, and he paid the penalty!

The Unsold Impressions.

Little care seems to have been taken of the unsold prints. Turner still made up sets, chiefly of worn and inferior impressions, with here and there a fine First or Second State among them. These sets he sold occasionally at his house in Queen Anne Street, at fourteen guineas for 'Prints' and twenty-eight guineas for so-called 'Proofs.' The demand for the work almost ceased, and its value fell to mere nominal prices. Charles Turner has left it on record that choice Proofs were used in his house to light fires, and

Variations in Value.

'Trial Proofs' now worth from thirty to eighty pounds apiece were sold, by the various engravers and the printer, for eight or ten shillings each. The late Mr. Halsted, the dealer, told me that about 1840-41 he frequently bought single impressions for half-a-crown apiece, and currently sold Engraver's Proofs at ten shillings each. He once knew a complete and fairly good set of the work sold for three pounds.

Things have changed indeed since that time!

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After Turner's death in 1851, Charles Turner and others of the engravers disposed of their Trial Proofs, etc., at very satisfactory prices. Lahee the printer, who had retained as his perquisite a complete set in the 'First State,' and Griffiths, Turner's agent, also found ready purchasers for their treasures. Other impressions came to light which there is reason to think had been stolen by the printers or binders, and hoarded until they could be disposed of without danger. At the great Sale at Christie's in 1873 a single complete set of plates, all in the First State, fetched no less than £892, and other sets, less perfect, from three hundred pounds upwards. The whole amount realized in that Sale by the Liber Studiorum—that is to say, by about 5,000 Engravings and 700 Etchings, and exclusive of the copper-plates of the eleven Unpublished subjects—was nearly eighteen thousand pounds. Since then, values have fluctuated from time to time, but a high level has been and still is maintained. There have also been numerous reproductions of the Liber by various methods, detailed descriptions of which will be found in Appendix C.

Collectors of the Liber.

Amongst the important collections of the Liber, by far the most noteworthy was that of Mr. Charles Stokes of Gray's Inn, Turner's stockbroker and friend. For a long period of years he set himself to acquire examples of the

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work in every stage, both before and after publication, and he amassed an enormous number of impressions, many of the highest interest, and some unique. At his death he bequeathed the collection to his niece, Miss Clarke, intending that it should be preserved intact as a whole. That lady, however, shortly after disposed of it, and it was broken up and distributed among various amateurs.

Other well-known collections of the Liber have been those of John Pye, the late Mr. Gambier Parry, and Mr. Heywood Hawkins. After Mr. Stokes's, the most extensive and important is that of my kind and much-regretted friend, the late Mr. John Edward Taylor.

Review of the Work.

It remains only to review the Liber Studiorum as a whole. Firstly—it will be evident, I think, how completely Turner succeeded in carrying out the original idea which was suggested to him in 1806 by his friend Mr. Trimmer.[1] The Liber gives full expression to its author's powers in every branch of pictorial art.[2]

Again—the strong influence on Turner, both of his predecessors and of his contemporaries, is

[1] See p. xii.

[2] The late Mr. Halsted told me that Turner, once coming to his shop in Bond Street, found fault with him for breaking up sets of the Liber; and when he was told that some plates sold habitually much better than others, he grunted out, 'A pack of geese! a pack of geese! Don't they know what Liber Studiorum means?'

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apparent throughout the work, as is also his strong rivalry with them. He enters the list with Titian and Salvator Rosa among the Italians; with Cuyp, Vandevelde, Backhuysen, Van de Capelle, Rembrandt and others of the Dutchmen; with the French Claude Lorraine and Gaspar Poussin; with Wilson, Morland and Gainsborough among his own countrymen. But it will be seen I think, that he is greatest in those plates in which he is most himself!

Thirdly—it will be remembered that in the early advertisement of the Liber, the project was described as 'A series of *Landscape Compositions*,' and it will be seen how eminently the great fundamental principles of composition—harmony of line, breadth and balance of mass, right distribution of light and shade, the constant direction of the eye of the spectator—are throughout kept in view. This art of composition seems strangely neglected in so many of the landscapes of the present day. Yet how vital is its presence, how fatal its absence![1]

Further—Turner's extraordinary technical skill, both as an etcher and a mezzotinter, cannot fail

[1] The following notable passage in a letter of John Crome (quoted some years ago in the *Athenæum*) strikingly illustrates this point:—'Do not distress us with accidental trifles in Nature, but keep the masses large and in good and beautiful lines, and give the sky, which plays so important a part in all landscape, and so supreme a one in our low-level lines of distance, the prominence it deserves, and in the coming years the posterity you paint for shall admire your work.'

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to strike every observer. Among those plates of the Liber which by general consent are regarded as the most attractive, will be found a large proportion of those which Turner engraved throughout with his own hand. He treated mezzotint, aquatint, and etching with a freedom unknown to professional engravers, and although his frequent experiments were not always at first successful, yet his skill and resource generally enabled him to turn his failures into brilliant successes, and also to conquer—so far as they could be conquered—the wear and tear inevitable with the method of engraving which he had adopted.

Finally—as regards the *motive* of the Liber, my personal view will be found below. Mr. Ruskin, whose own mind had always a tinge of melancholy, cites the work as evidence of the prevailing *sadness* of Turner's mind, and this view has been adopted by many later writers. For my part, I am quite unable to find this general note of sadness, nor, so far as I know, was Turner at this period of his life in any way a melancholy or a disappointed man—quite the reverse. The passage in which Mr. Ruskin expresses his opinions (*M. P.*, vol. v, p. 336) is so characteristic that I quote it at length, although I cannot agree with it:—

"Take up the Liber Studiorum, and observe how this feeling of decay and humiliation gives solemnity to all its simplest subjects; even to his view of daily labour. I

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have marked its tendency in examining the design of the 'Mill and Lock,' but observe its continuance through the book. There is no exultation in thriving city or mart, or in happy rural toil, or harvest gathering. Only the grinding at the mill, and patient striving with hard conditions of life. Observe the two disordered and poor farmyards, cart, and ploughshare, and harrow rotting away; note the pastoral by the brook side, with its neglected stream, and haggard trees, and bridge with the broken rail; and decrepit children—fever struck—one sitting stupidly by the stagnant stream, the other in rags, and with an old man's hat on, and lame, leaning on a stick. Then the 'Hedging and Ditching,' with its bleak sky and blighted trees, hacked, and bitten, and starved by the clay soil into something between trees and firewood; its meanly-faced, sickly labourers, pollard labourers, like the willow trunk they hew; and the slatternly peasant-woman, with worn cloak and battered bonnet—an English Dryad. Then the Water-Mill, beyond the fallen steps, overgrown with the thistle: itself a ruin, mud-built at first, now propped on both sides; the planks torn from its cattle shed; a feeble beam, splintered at the end, set against the dwelling-house from the ruined pier of the watercourse; the old mill-stone—useless for many a day—half buried in slime, at the bottom of the wall; the listless children, listless dog, and the poor gleaner bringing her single sheaf to be ground. Then the 'Peat Bog,' with its cold, dark rain, and dangerous labour. And last and chief, the mill in the valley of the Chartreuse. Another than Turner would have painted the convent, but he had no sympathy with the hope, no mercy for the indolence, of the monk. He painted the mill in the valley. Precipice overhanging it, and wilderness of dark forest round; blind rage and strength of mountain torrent rolled beneath it,—calm sunset above, but fading

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from the glen, leaving it to its roar of passionate waters and sighing of pine-branches in the night.

"Such is his view of human labour. Of human pride, see what records. Morpeth Tower, roofless and black; gate of old Winchelsea wall, the flock of sheep driven *round* it, not through it, and Rievaulx choir, and Kirkstall crypt; and Dunstanborough, wan above the sea; and Chepstow, with arrowy light through traceried windows; and Lindisfarne, with failing height of wasted shaft and wall; and last and sweetest, Raglan, in utter solitude, amidst the wild wood of its own pleasance; the towers rounded with ivy, and the forest roots choked with undergrowth, and the brook languid amidst lilies and sedges. Legends of gray knights and enchanted ladies keeping the woodman's children away at the sunset.

"These are his types of human pride. Of human love: Procris, dying by the arrow; Hesperie, by the viper's fang; and Rizpah, more than dead, beside her children.

"Such are the lessons of the Liber Studiorum. Silent always with a bitter silence, disdaining to tell his meaning, when he saw there was no ear to receive it, Turner only indicated his purpose by slight words of contemptuous anger, when he heard of any one's trying to obtain this or the other separate subject as more beautiful than the rest. 'What is the use of them,' he said, 'but together?' The meaning of the entire book was symbolized in the frontispiece, which he engraved with his own hand: Tyre at Sunset, with the Rape of Europa, indicating the symbolism of the decay of Europe by that of Tyre, its beauty passing away into terror and judgment (Europa being the mother of Minos and Rhadamanthus)."

As regards Turner's intention in the Liber, I can discover only that with which it started—the exhibition of its author's powers in every branch

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of pictorial art. Classical legend and Old Testament tragedy; ancient, towered cities, and 'London seen from Greenwich'; grey, ruined castles and sweet, desolate abbey crypt; the Alps with their everlasting snows, and the sweeping curves of Scottish mountain and valley; wild, rain-swept moorland and quiet English woodland; mists of morning, glow of evening, passing shower, gloom of thunder-storm; sunrise, sunset, and full moon; last, but not least, the sea in all its moods—sunny calm, breezy, racing tide, and wildest storm. All this and much more, in one small work, all from one brush. What a record!

No doubt the Liber displays Turner's weakness as well as his giant strength. No doubt there are several plates which can only be described as banal, and which detract from its value. But, with all its faults, I believe that to all time it will be regarded as a monumental work of art, and that it will take rank with the highest productions of the greatest landscape-painter which the world has yet seen—a painter whose name will stand along with Leonardo, Michael Angelo, Giorgione, Titian, Holbein, Rembrandt, Velasquez, Reynolds and Gainsborough.

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CATALOGUE

OF THE

LIBER STUDIORUM.

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CATALOGUE

OF THE

LIBER STUDIORUM.

In this Catalogue I have followed, as far as possible, the traditional titles and the order of the plates of the Liber Studiorum, as they appeared in the Catalogue of the Burlington Fine Arts Club Exhibition of 1872. Many of the plates, however, were issued by Turner without titles; in nearly all such cases I have adhered to the old names, but in one or two instances I have ventured to alter them for reasons which I have given in each case. The titles which are not Turner's are printed in *italic* capitals; his own titles are in ordinary capitals.

In my descriptions of the 'States' of the plates, I have departed from the frequent practice of applying that term to the various Proofs taken by the engravers from time to time during the progress of their work. There seems no general rule or practice on this point, and such Proofs are varyingly called 'Trial Proofs,' 'Working Proofs,' 'Progressive Proofs,' or 'Engraver's Proofs'; often also, as I have said, 'States.'

I find it impossible in practice so to differentiate between the first three of these terms that they shall clearly define the nature or order of a Proof, and I have therefore classed *all impressions taken by the Engraver before the publication of a plate, as 'Engraver's Proofs.'* The 'States' of each plate, as I have used the word, begin with the first impressions published or issued by

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Turner to his subscribers or the public. The description given at the head of each plate is in every case taken from the 'First Published State.'

In classifying the 'States' of each plate, I have been guided first by what I call their *external* evidence, *i.e.*, by the marks in the margin or the changes in the lettering, which were purposely added by Turner, to denote that repairs or alterations had been made. Wherever I see, in addition to these marks, distinct and unmistakable *internal* evidence, *i.e.*, changes in the plate itself, I have noted these also. But it will be found that impressions of the same 'State' will often differ, owing to the varying amount of ink left on the copper at each printing, to changes in the colour or consistency of the ink itself, and, more especially, to the greater or less care bestowed on the actual printing of each impression. And minute variations of this kind, although they may be apparent at once to an eye accustomed to the Liber, or to anyone who compares two impressions of the same 'State,' cannot always be reduced to definitions sufficiently precise and unvarying for a Catalogue.

Further, it is important to bear in mind that when repairs or alterations have been made in a worn mezzotint plate, all such *added* work invariably wears away with extreme rapidity, and the additions or alterations can frequently only be properly seen in the first three or four impressions printed. The fine collection of the Liber in the Print Room of the British Museum fortunately contains, in addition to many Engraver's Proofs and early 'Published States,' an unusually large number of good impressions of later 'States.' These were acquired in 1869 with the collection of John Pye, the line-engraver, by whom they had been carefully selected during a period of many years.

Students of the Liber will also do well to remember that the distinguishing marginal marks of the latest

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'State' of each plate—the first few impressions of which 'State' may have been still fairly representative of the subject—were allowed to remain on the copper-plates when they were utterly worn out. Some very inferior sets of the Liber were issued even in Turner's lifetime, and at the end of the great Sale in 1878, several were sold which were the veriest ghosts.[1] The copper-plates themselves were broken up before the Sale.

The 'States' which I have described as 'Rare' are those of which, so far as I can judge, an unusually small number of impressions must, from various causes, have originally been printed. It will be observed that they are mainly either the plates which Turner engraved himself, or those at the end of the work, just before it was discontinued. No doubt the more attractive subjects are also, for obvious reasons, rarer than the others, but this does not bring them within my definition of rarity.

I have added to the notices of many of the plates, any facts concerning them which have seemed likely to be of interest, as well as, in certain cases, suggestions as to their meanings—some my own, and some from other writers. Especially I have followed the example of the Burlington Fine Arts Club Catalogue in quoting any notable passages in which Mr. Ruskin has alluded to the Liber, although in some instances I have not been able to agree with his views.

Collectors of the Liber will find it needful to be on their guard against the dishonest removal of the *external* marks of the 'States' referred to above (*i.e.*, in the margin, lettering, etc.). They should also bear in mind that excellent copies of certain plates were made by Lupton after Turner's death; a list of these will be found in Appendix C.

[1] These may at once be known by the very thick paper on which they are printed.

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The following monograms, etc., of collectors, engravers, and others are occasionally to be met with on impressions of the Liber:

(1) , with the signature *Mary Constance Clarke*; both on the back, in ink. Miss Clarke inherited the celebrated collection of Mr. Stokes, which was acquired mainly during Turner's lifetime.

(2) W.S. Impressed plain, generally in the lower margin, inside the plate mark. These belonged to William Say, the engraver.

(3) In pencil, usually on the back. From the collection of the late Mr. J. Heywood Hawkins.

(4) Stamped in ink, on the back. From the collection of the late Duke of Buccleuch.

(5) Stamped in ink. From the collection of the late Dr. Crawford Pocock, of Brighton.

(6) This monogram, which is composed of the initials of J. M. W. Turner, was stamped (plain) across the lower line of every impression of the vast hoard of engravings of all kinds, including the Liber, which was found in Turner's house at his death, and sold by order of the Court of Chancery, at Christie's, in 1878.

(7) The signature (in pencil) of Charles Turner, A.R.A., the Liber engraver. It is seen at times on other plates besides those engraved by him.

(8) W.G.R. Impressed plain, in the lower margin. The writer's collection.

The following modern collections of the Liber Studiorum are referred to under the initials of their owners, viz.:

B. Mr. Francis Bullard of Boston, U.S.A.
BM. British Museum (Print Room).
C. Earl Cathcart.
H. Mr. H. Percy Horne.
R. Mr. W. G. Rawlinson.

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S. Mr. J. Irvine Smith.
T. The late Mr. J. E. Taylor.

The only other abbreviation used in the work is *b.a.l.*, signifying 'before any letters.'

In every description, the point of view is that of the spectator, *i.e.*, what he sees on his left or right is what he will find described as left or right in this Catalogue.

[*N.B.—In this, the Second Edition, it will be observed that detailed descriptions of the Engraver's Proofs have been added with each plate.*

The only important corrections in the descriptions of 'First Published States' are in 'The Coast of Yorkshire' (*Pl.* 24) *and* 'Inverary Pier' (*Pl.* 35). *Alterations will be found in several 'Second States,' including the two plates just named,* 'The Calm' (*Pl.* 44), 'Æsacus and Hesperie' (*Pl.* 66), *and a few others. In the Third and later 'States' there are many changes.*]

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PL. 1. THE FRONTISPIECE.

Published May 23rd, 1812, by J. M. W. Turner, Queen Ann Street West. Drawn, Etched, and the centre Engraved by J. M. W. Turner Esq. R.A. P.P. Engraved by J. C. Easling.

A central picture (4 in. by 2¼ in.) of Tyre with the Rape of Europa. A castle, temple, and various buildings on left above sea; Europa on the bull, to right; figures on shore in centre foreground. The picture in a framework of arches. Above, a tablet with 'Liber Studiorum.' On left, a scroll with names of ten of the engravers. Below, various objects, among which is a peacock. On right, fragment of carved cornice. In margin, at top, 'This Frontispiece to,' and at foot, 'is most respectfully presented to the Subscribers by J. M. W. Turner.'

The Etching. First State. Centre blank. *T.*

The Etching. Second State. Picture in centre etched, but before outline of castle. *T.*

The Etching. Third State. Castle added in dry-point.

Engraver's Proofs. (*a*) Border mezzotinted, and central picture etched only. *R.* (*b*) Central picture mezzotinted and border completed, except that title on label, and engravers' names on scroll are wanting. *T.*, *BM.*

The variations in the Published States are entirely in the central picture, the border and framework remaining the same throughout, though showing the usual loss of richness and delicacy as printing went on. The central picture was engraved by Turner himself, and the mezzotinting was so extremely fugitive that hardly any two impressions of the same State are precisely alike. The distinctions below are the best I can give:—

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First Published State. Before mark in margin. Sea dark, showing white line of surf all round; dark under-surfaces give brilliant effect to the light soft clouds in sky. All these dark parts rapidly wore away in printing, and fine impressions of this State are extremely rare.

Second State. A single diagonal stroke at left lower corner in margin. Sky much fainter from wear. New rays of light added, falling obliquely from right upper corner. Sea darkened in patches, and fresh work on temple on left. Shore in front very light and showing no white line of surf. All this new work wore away very quickly, and can only be seen in a few of the earliest impressions. Ordinary ones are very dull.

Third State. Mark at left lower corner completed to a capital A. Much worn throughout. Lights in castle seldom visible.

Fourth State. Same mark in margin as in Third State. Re-mezzotinted throughout and entirely altered in appearance. Sea dark, with a scraped white line of surf. The soft light clouds replaced by numerous large patches of white cloud, also with a hard, scraped effect. Border heavily reworked, losing all richness in shadows.

A series of sketches for the *Frontispiece* exist. The earliest are two small, slight pen-drawings, one on the back, and the other on the front of a sheet of paper, in the collection of the late Mr. J. E. Taylor. In general idea the border is similar to what was afterwards engraved, but the centre has an entirely different subject—a ruined castle on the sea-shore. A later sketch, also in pen-and-ink, appeared at the Harrison Sale in 1881. This was on a larger scale and virtually the same as the engraving, except that in place of the bas-relief on the right there was a scroll with the names of two engravers.

I possess what was probably the next stage—an Etching of the whole framework and border of the plate, with a pencil sketch of the Rape of Europa in the centre, in the opposite direction to that in which it afterwards appeared; the cause of the subsequent reversing being doubtless the want of

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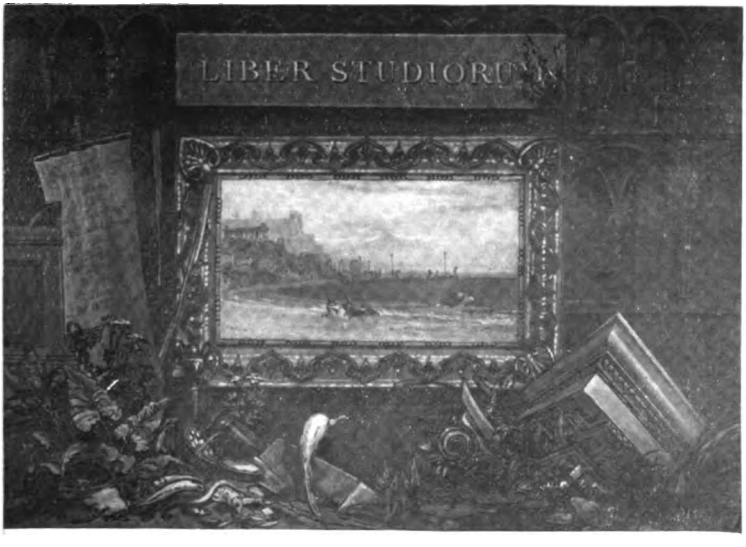
harmony between the lines of the central picture and those of the framework, as they then stood.

Finally, in the National Gallery there is an impression of the Etching, coloured in sepia as a guide for the engraver of the framework and border.

The exquisite, gem-like beauty of the central picture—the Rape of Europa—can only be really seen in the very earliest impressions. Probably there are not more than six or seven of these, including the Engraver's Proofs. This part of the plate was entirely Turner's own engraving, and, like most of his mezzotinting, it was extremely fugitive. He *painted* in mezzotint, so to speak, using it as if it had been water-colour, in order to obtain the ethereal delicacy which he desired. But this delicate work would not bear the wear and tear of printing.

It will be observed that the names of two of the engravers of the Liber are missing from the scroll, viz., F. C. Lewis,[1] who engraved the first plate only; and T. Lupton, who had not begun to work for Turner when the *Frontispiece* was issued.

[1] See Introduction, p. xxii.



(1)

THE FRONTISPIECE DAS TITELBILD FRONTISPICE

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PART I.

ISSUED JANUARY 20, 1807.

PL. 2. *THE BRIDGE AND COWS.* [P]

Published, as the Act directs, by J. M. W. Turner, Harley Street. Drawn and Etched by J. M. W. Turner R.A. Engraved by C. Turner.

On right, half-way across, bank of trees over shallow stream. In centre, rude bridge of planks with broken rail; below it, five cows in water and one lying on left bank. On left, several children; beyond a road and trees. Water-mill above bridge.

The Etching.

Engraver's Proofs. (*a*) Clouds only roughly indicated generally, and no light ones in upper sky. *B.*, *T.*, *BM.* (*b*) Nearly completed. *C.*, *R.*, *T.*, *BM.* All before any lettering.

First Published State. Initial letter (P) a tall, slender, open capital, about $\frac{1}{16}$ of an inch from top of plate. Cross planks of bridge white.

Second State. Same letter filled up with vertical lines. Cross planks of bridge dark. Foliage loses gradation and becomes heavy.

Third State. Initial letter re-engraved; open as in First State, but shorter and broader, and about $\frac{1}{8}$ of an inch from top of plate. Transparency of water lost; foliage, owing to loss of lights, nearly uniform in tone. Inferior in effect.

Fourth State. A dot in the bow of initial letter. Reworked throughout, hard and dull; new lights taken out on foliage of pollard on right.

The Drawing is in the National Gallery; the Engraving is reversed from it.

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The Etching of this plate is very beautiful, especially in a few impressions which were printed in a light brown ink; it is carried so far that it forms a complete picture without any engraving—I even doubt if it does not lose by the addition of mezzotint. The somewhat heavy masses of the latter hide the earlier grace of line and harmony of composition. In both the Engraving and the Etching, the superb drawing of the pollard willows on the right cannot fail to be noticed. The cows are no better, though no worse, than Turner's cows usually are.

The *Bridge and Cows* has been generally thought to show a rivalry with Gainsborough, just as in the next plate —*The Woman and Tambourine*—Turner has evidently pitted himself against Claude Lorraine.

(2)

THE BRIDGE AND COWS DIE BRÜCKE UND DIE KÜHE LE PONT ET LES VACHES

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PL. 3. *THE WOMAN AND TAMBOURINE.*

[E. P.]

Published, as the Act directs, by J. M. W. Turner, Harley Street. Drawn and Etched by J. M. W. Turner R.A. Engraved by C. Turner.

A classical landscape with river flowing from right. On right bank houses, with ruins of castle above showing through trees. In centre, ruined bridge of two arches; on left, road winding between trees. In left foreground, the seated figure of Pallas, holding a dancing child; beside them, woman playing on tambourine. Hills in distance.

The Etching.

Engraver's Proofs. (*a*) Before any work on sky, or on water beyond bridge. *T.* (*b*) A series, in various stages of completion. *B., H., R., T.* All the foregoing b. a. l.

First Published State. The initial letters (E. P.) tall, slender, open capitals, $\frac{1}{16}$ of an inch from the top of plate.

Second State. Same letters filled up. The rich depth of shadows lost throughout, especially in foliage behind square tower on right. The latter, which in the First State is a distinct high light, is now of same tone as foliage round it. General effect much duller.

Third State. Initial letters re-engraved; open as in First State, but shorter and broader and about $\frac{3}{16}$ of an inch from top of plate. Very dull and heavy.

Fourth State. Initial letters as in Third State, but with dot added in bow of 'P.' Considerably reworked and brightened. Men in boat on right and their reflection, taken out white. Light spaces on road on left, which now winds nearly to top of hill. Early impressions seem to me preferable to most of those of the Second and Third States.

The Drawing is in the National Gallery.

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The Woman and Tambourine at once recalls several subjects of the *Liber Veritatis* and was doubtless inspired by them. Apparently also, just as the painter has taken Claude as his model, so the engraver has followed Earlom, the English engraver of the *Liber Veritatis*. In the Etching, the tree-drawing is Turner's own, but in the Engraving, the mezzotinting of the foliage is very much in Earlom's manner. Charles Turner at the beginning of the Liber Studiorum was comparatively new to landscape work, and probably, having no style of his own, he went to the *Liber Veritatis* to study tree engraving.

It will be observed that the seated female figure on the left wears a helmet, and near her, on the ground, is a shield on which can be plainly seen the Gorgon's head, and by it the spear and distaff of Pallas. The helmet appears in the Drawing, but Turner added the shield, spear, and distaff when he made the Etching. Probably he intended to represent the Goddess of Wisdom at play with the God of Love, who is dancing to the accompaniment of the tambourine.

In early impressions this plate is very beautiful, and has perhaps more of the best characteristics of Claude than any other of the Liber Studiorum. We see his clear, tranquil, sunny atmosphere, and his finely graduated, wide-stretching distances. The composition also is mas-
more grace of form and move-
'am-
skin
the
rin-

THE WOMAN AND TAMBOURINE (3) FEMME AVEC TAMBOUR DE BASC
DIE FRAU MIT DEM TAMBURIN

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PL. 4.

FLINT CASTLE—VESSELS UNLOADING.

[M]

Published, as the Act directs, by J. M. W. Turner, Harley Street. Drawn and Etched by J. M. W. Turner R.A. Engraved by C. Turner.

On right, in shallow water, two smacks unlading; men with carts close by; on left, other men loading pack-horses. Revenue officer on horseback watching. Beyond, on horizon, ruins of castle, with hills sloping upwards to left, and more smacks. Rays of light strike downwards from right upper corner.

The Etching.

Engraver's Proofs. (*a*) Before any white clouds or light in sky; drawn upon all over by Turner. *T.* (*b*) Advanced proof. *T.* Both b. a. l. (*c*) Completed except sky. Lettering as in First Pub. State except that the initial letter is a small italic '*m.*' *R.*

First Published State. Initial letter (M) tall, slender, open capital, $\frac{1}{16}$ of an inch from top of plate.

Second State. Same letter filled up. Sky and shadows throughout fainter, but this State is still often good.

Third State. Initial letter re-engraved; open as in First State, but shorter and broader and about $\frac{1}{8}$ of an inch from top of plate. The plate reworked and in early impressions improved, but the new mezzotinting rapidly wore away and the effect is usually very dull. The light cloud over smack on right is suffused and darkened, whilst the horizontal clouds above it are lighter. Hull of smack on left very dark. Rays of light much less defined.

Fourth State. Again reworked, and still darker and duller.

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The Drawing is in the National Gallery, and with it is an impression of the Etching coloured in sepia as a guide for the engraver. The plate is reversed from the Drawing.

This is a pure breezy English seascape, entirely Turner's own in feeling and treatment, and owing nothing to any of his rivals or predecessors. The sky has perhaps somewhat baffled the engraver, but it is very characteristic of Turner. The lines of the composition converging to and focussed by the sun's rays, are particularly pleasant. The 'riding officer' of the revenue, so often alluded to in the Waverley Novels and depicted in the prints of the period, will be observed superintending the landing of the stores from the boats.

Flint Castle and its shore were drawn again by Turner in his *England and Wales*, but very differently, and the mistake of reversing the drawing was avoided. The Castle itself he had also drawn as early as 1797, as an illustration to the *Copper-plate Magazine*. A comparison of these three engravings, which represent his treatment of the same subject at three widely separated periods—1797, 1807, and 1827—is extremely interesting.

(4)

FLINT CASTLE—VESSELS UNLOADING CHATEAU DE FLINT—BATEAUX DÉCHARGEANT
SCHLOSS FLINT—SCHIFFE BEIM LÖSCHEN

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PL. 5. BASLE. [A]

Published, as the Act directs, by J. M. W. Turner, Harley Street. Drawn and Etched by J. M. W. Turner R.A. Engraved by C. Turner.

In centre, a wooden bridge on six piers crossing wide river, on which are many boats and rafts. The city on right bank rising to cathedral with two spires. Beyond the bridge a church, houses, and distant hills. The setting sun, partly hidden by light clouds, throws rays downwards over houses and distant country.

The Etching. First State.

The Etching. Second State. There is a small difference in the spires of the cathedral.

Engraver's Proofs. (*a*) Before any rays from sun, and before cathedral towers etc., defined. Very dark. *T.* (*b*) Sun's rays very sharply defined. *B.* (*c*) Rays subdued. In various stages. *H.*, *T.* All the foregoing b. a. l. (*d*) Lettering as in First Pub. State, but sun's rays less prominent. Printed in a greyish-brown ink, giving a silvery and very beautiful effect. *R.* (*e*) Completed except upper sky. In usual brown ink. *R.*

First Published State. Initial letter (A) and title, in tall, slender, open capitals. Initial letter $\frac{1}{16}$ of an inch from top of plate.

Second State. Initial and title letters filled up. Early impressions of this State are often very good.

Third State. Initial letter and title re-engraved; open as in First State, but shorter and broader; initial letter $\frac{1}{8}$ of an inch from top. Reworked and heavy; generally printed in a redder ink.

Fourth State. Initial letter and title as in Third State, with a dot added in upper bow of B. Much worn, and heavily reworked, giving a generally darker effect; many small

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rounded clouds added over the furthest gable of Cathedral. In earlier States all the clouds here are in horizontal lines.

Fifth State. Dots in both bows of the B of Basle.

I do not know where the Drawing now is. It was sold many years ago, I believe to America. An impression of the Etching, coloured in sepia as a guide for the engraver, is in the National Gallery.

Basle, though not one of the most striking subjects of the Liber, is by no means one of the least beautiful. Fine impressions convey the sense of diffused sunlight on a still, warm, autumn afternoon.[1] Notice especially the beauty and truth of the effect beyond the bridge, where the sun's rays, which in the foreground are much subdued by the floating clouds, light up and steep in a warm glow the houses, trees, and distant steeples.

One thing, however, Turner has not thought fit to give, possibly because it would have lessened the per- that rdly over hich

Collec- ltered The in the ts and

BASLE (5) BASEL BALE

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PL. 6. JASON. [H]

Published, as the Act directs, by J. M. W. Turner, Harley Street. Drawn and Etched by J. M. W. Turner R.A. Engraved by C. Turner.

In centre a dark cavern in the slope of a hill in the depth of which is a coil of a large serpent. Across foreground, bare trunks of trees, over which Jason, in armour, with sword in right hand, is advancing towards serpent. On left, broken stumps of trees. Above hill, dark woods; a break of light just over serpent.

The Etching.

Engraver's Proofs. (*a*) Very dark and sombre throughout; no lights on serpent. *R.* (*b*) Very similar, but lights beginning to appear on curves of serpent. *T.* Both the above are very sombre and impressive. (*c*) Advanced Proof, but before bright lights on bank on right, tree stumps, and figure of Jason. *T.* All the foregoing b. a. l. (*d*) Completed, but before initial letter. *BM.*

First Published State. Initial letter (H) a tall, slender, open capital, about $\frac{1}{16}$ of an inch from top of plate. Title in open capitals, the strokes of equal thickness. No measurements.

Second State. Initial letter filled up. Title-letters have right-hand stroke thicker than left. No measurements. Lighter and duller throughout.

Third State. Initial letter open as in First State, but shorter and slightly broader, and nearly $\frac{3}{16}$ of an inch from the top. Title as in Second State, with '3 by 4' added after 'Jason,' and 'Pict. 3 ft. by 4' under 'Drawn and etched; &c,'. Retouched a good deal, but early impressions are fairly good.

Fourth State. Initial letter and measurements as in Third State. Letters of title open, and both strokes of equal

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thickness, as in First State. Reworked throughout and much altered. Many bright lights introduced on trunks of trees and all over foreground. Central part around serpent and all the shadows darkened. General effect much brighter, but lacking the gloom and mystery of the First State.

Fifth State. Initial and title as in Fourth State with a dot added in middle of 'o' of Jason. Very poor and dull, the added work of the preceding State having rapidly worn away.

The Drawing is in the National Gallery.

The Etching of *Jason* is exceedingly fine, and is carried further than most of the others. Mr. Ruskin has alluded to the plate in various passages in 'Modern Painters.' He considers that with others of the Liber, it shows the strong influence of Titian on Turner. In his chapter on "Imagination Penetrative" (*M. P.* vol. ii. p. 166), contrasting the treatment by Retsch of a similar subject (illustrations to Schiller's *Kampf mit dem Drachen*) he finely says:

"Take up Turner's Jason, Liber Studiorum, and observe how the imagination can concentrate all this and infinitely more, into one moment. No far forest country, no secret paths, nor cloven hills; nothing but a gleam of pale horizontal sky, that broods over pleasant places far away, and sends in, through the wild overgrowth of the thicket, a ray of broken daylight into the hopeless pit. No flaunting plumes nor brandished lances, but stern purpose in the turn of the crestless helmet, visible victory in the drawing back of the prepared right arm behind the steady point. No more claws, nor teeth, nor manes, nor stinging tails. We have the dragon, like everything else, by the middle. We need see no more of him. All his horror is in that fearful, slow, griding upheaval of the single coil. Spark after spark of it, ring after ring, is sliding into the light, the slow glitter steals along him step by step, broader and broader, a lighting of funeral lamps one by one, quicker and quicker; a moment more, and he is out upon us, all crash and blaze, among those broken trunks;—but he will be nothing then to what he is now. . . . Now observe in this work of Turner that the whole value of it depends upon the character of

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curve assumed by the serpent's body; for had it been a mere semicircle, or gone down in a series of smaller coils, it would have been, in the first case, ridiculous, as unlike a serpent, or, in the second, disgusting, nothing more than an exaggerated viper; but it is that *coming straight* at the right hand which suggests the drawing forth of an enormous weight, and gives the bent part its springing look, that frightens us. Again, remove the light trunk on the left, and observe how useless all the gloom of the picture would have been, if this trunk had not given it depth and *hollowness*. Finally and chiefly, observe that the painter is not satisfied even with all the suggestiveness thus obtained, but to make sure of us, and force us, whether we will or not, to walk his way, and not ours, the trunks of the trees on the right are all cloven into yawning and writhing heads and bodies, and alive with dragon energy all about us; note especially the nearest with its gaping jaws and claw-like branch at the seeming shoulder; a kind of suggestion which in itself is not imaginative, but merely fanciful (using the term fancy in that third sense not yet explained, corresponding to the third office of imagination); but it is imaginative in its present use and application, for the painter addresses thereby that morbid and fearful condition of mind which he has endeavoured to excite in the spectator, and which in reality would have seen in every trunk and bough, as it penetrated into the deeper thicket, the object of its terror."

To me, this plate like many of Turner's classical and mythological subjects, seems not wholly satisfactory. Mr. Ruskin himself in another passage (*M. P.* vol. i. p. 128) remarks that "there is something of the nineteenth century about Jason's legs"!

Professor Eliot Norton (*Catalogue of the L. S.*, p. 16) has the following interesting remarks on the characteristics of Part I of the Liber, which ends with *Jason*:

"In the five subjects of which Part I is composed—and something of the same sort may be observed in the subsequent Parts—Turner seems to have intended to express the variety of his sympathies and the breadth of his art. From the simplest bit of English landscape and life we pass to the Arcadia of the classic landscapists; thence back to nature and man in another aspect, the sea and the smugglers, [I fear there are no smugglers in *Flint Castle*] in sharp contrast to the rural tranquillity of the first

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pastoral scene. Then we have the literal view of a picturesque city, with nature in sky and river, and at length, for a close, the pure imaginative power of the ideal landscape and incident of the *Jason*. Anyone who knows what English landscape art was generally in 1807, will recognize the astonishing novelty of this wide reach and strong grasp of Turner. These were original and fresh gifts of art. In painting he was at once the Wordsworth and the Byron of his generation."

The oil Picture from which the plate is taken was painted in 1802, and is in the National Gallery. It is very much darker than the Drawing—possibly it has darkened with time—and the dragon is not nearly so prominent an object.

(6)

JASON IASON JASON

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PART II.

ISSUED FEBRUARY 20, 1808.

PL. 7. *THE STRAW-YARD.* [P]

London, published February 20, 1808, *by C. Turner,* 50, *Warren Street, Fitzroy Square. Drawn and Etched by J. M. W. Turner Esq. R.A. P.P. Engraved by Chas. Turner.*

A farm-yard with barn in centre, the doors open wide; trees behind. On right, a rick, against which are ladders; men loading straw to cart below. Group of horses by cart, and bundles of straw on ground. In left foreground, a pool; beyond, a gate, with labourers beside it.

The Etching.

Engraver's Proofs. Before the lights in the sky and on the horses were burnished bright white. B. a. l. *H.*, *R.*

First Published State. Initial letter (P) an open capital. The edge of left-hand door of barn, white.

Second State. Initial letter filled up. Door as in First State.

Third State. Initial letter re-engraved and again open, as in First State, but with a dot added in bow of P. Edge of left-hand door of barn, dark. The plate reworked throughout and in early impressions improved, but the sky soon loses its brilliancy and its clearness on the horizon.

Fourth (or later) State. I possess a very late but interesting impression, extremely worn and pale throughout—the light clouds in the upper sky being hardly visible, and the foreground etc., quite bare. In order to restore the balance of the plate, Turner has completely altered the dark mezzotinting of the barn, lightening it all over in patches, and the whole effect is totally different from the earlier States. I have never seen another like it.

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The Drawing is in the National Gallery. The Engraving is reversed from it.

The Straw Yard is the first and probably the best of the purely domestic subjects of the Liber. But though there is a certain homely interest about it, and a pleasant effect of space and light on the horizon, I think Turner cared little for such scenes, and drew this plate and a few others only because he thought it needful that such subjects should be represented in the Liber—possibly some rivalry with Morland was in his mind. But painters like Morland cared for these things, and because they cared for them they painted them well, whilst Turner in this plate, and in others similar to it, misses the chief attractiveness of farmyard life—the attractiveness of animal form. Witness his ill-drawn horses here, and his cows, dogs, and sheep, elsewhere in the Liber. Yet he could draw animals well when he was interested in them. His deer and goats, probably because they are generally associated rather with the wilder scenes of nature than with the surroundings of man, are rarely at fault.

As an 'arrangement' in light and shade the *Straw Yard* is singularly fine. The white horse is so telling as a central light. The mezzotinting of the barn has always been praised by professional engravers as an exceptionally good and difficult piece of work. Both these points however, can only be properly seen in the very earliest impressions.

Of the slight, but pleasant landscape, the Rev. Stopford Brooke (*Notes on Liber Studiorum*, pp. 25, 26) remarks:

"It is against winter that the men are stacking the straw, and the afternoon shows one of those bright October skies which are full of cold clear light. This sky is one of the most beautiful in the Liber Studiorum, more choicely engraved than that of *Flint Castle*, but of the same quality of light and air, and full of the fancy and change of nature—through all its intricate passages of change

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studied with the greatest care, and true through every difficulty. There is calm in the air at present; nothing can be quieter than the low cloud-barred horizon that opens on the left, but on the right above the trees, wind is at hand. The clouds there are tossed and intertwined by the yet unborn spirit of the breeze within them. It is a rare moment for a painter to seize, and as difficult to represent. But with what ease, with what mastery the work is done!

"The trees which rise into the sky above the barn are grouped with the beauty which Turner took care to give to nature. . . . Their outline is lovely and they are etched with exquisite lightness and power. . . . Nor are the pollard willows unworthy of Turner's hand."

(7)

THE STRAW-YARD — DER STROHHOF — LE PAILLER

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PL. 8.

THE CASTLE ABOVE THE MEADOWS.

(Formerly called 'OAKHAMPTON CASTLE' and 'PASTORAL WITH THE WHITE COW.') [E.P.]

London, published February 20, 1808, *by C. Turner,* 50, *Warren Street, Fitzroy Square. Drawn and Etched by J. M. W. Turner Esq. R.A. P.P Engraved by Chas. Turner.*

In centre, ruined castle on a high bare rock, which closes the view. Meadows in foreground. On right, boy sitting by stile below tall trees, playing on a pipe. On left, group of cows; trees above cows and in middle distance. Hill on extreme left.

The Etching.

Engraver's Proofs. (*a*) Before lights on under surfaces of clouds throughout upper sky. *R.* (*b*) Further advanced. *T.* Both b. a. l.

First Published State. Initial letters (E. P.) open capitals. Bright white spots of light on boy's face and on stile.

Second State. Initial letters have a single vertical line inside them. Bright lights still on face and stile. Printed in a brown ink. Sometimes very good.

Third State. Initial letters open as in First State, but faint traces left of the inside line which has been removed. The bright white lights no longer visible, and the delicate mezzotint shading on the Castle rock has almost disappeared. Generally printed in a redder tone of ink.

Fourth State. Initial letters as in Third State with dot added in bow of P. Much worn throughout.

The Drawing is in the National Gallery.

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In good impressions this plate pleasantly separates itself into foreground, middle distance and furthest distance, each distinct in gradation but without any harsh divisions. The delicate mezzotinting on the castle rock, lighting and defining its hollows and buttress-like crags, and throwing over it a soft haze of distance, is a fine piece of engraver's work. The trees are less successful, and lack the beauty they have in the Drawing. Charles Turner's trees are generally somewhat heavy, and seldom quite successful.

The name of Oakhampton Castle has, I think, been erroneously given to this plate. Turner drew Oakhampton Castle twice afterwards—once in the *Rivers of England* and once in the *England and Wales*; and although he was then far less particular as to topographical accuracy than at this earlier period, the character of the place is more or less rendered in both. Here, neither the castle itself, the rock on which it stands, nor the surroundings, appear to me to resemble Oakhampton.

(8)

THE CASTLE ABOVE THE MEADOWS LE CHATEAU AU-DELÀ DES PRÉS
DAS SCHLOSS ÜBER DEN WIESEN

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PL. 9. MT. ST. GOTHARD. [M. S.]

London, published February 20, 1808, *by C. Turner,* 50, *Warren Street, Fitzroy Square. Drawn and Etched by J. M. W. Turner Esq. R.A. P.P. Engraved by Chas. Turner.*

Rocky mountain slopes descend from right and left, with very narrow deep gorge between, winding beyond further slopes of mountains. High above on right, distant pure white snow peaks. In left foreground, road passing through tunnel, from which a laden mule is emerging followed by driver.

The Etching.

Engraver's Proofs. (*a*) The snow peaks with hard outlines; before the softer effect afterwards introduced. Very fine. *T., Mr. F. Short.* (*b*) Snow peaks scraped white by Turner, giving a softer effect. Drawn upon all over by him, and with his instructions to the engraver quoted below. *T.* (*c*) Snow peaks burnished white to correspond with instructions. *B., R.* All the foregoing with title in scratched letters in lower margin.

First Published State. Initial letters (M. S.) and title in open capitals.

Second State. Initial letters and title filled up. A general loss of tone and gradation, especially visible in dark mass of precipice on right; snow peaks also lose their bright whiteness.

Third State. Initial letters and title open as in First State, but traces of the inside filling can still be seen. Reworked and dull throughout. Generally printed in a redder tone of ink.

Fourth State. Initial letters and title as in Third State with a dot added in the right member of the Initial letter 'M.' Very worn and inferior.

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Fifth State. A dot added in centre of 'o' of 'Gothard.'

The Drawing is in the National Gallery.

The Etching of *Mt. St. Gothard* is particularly fine, and the Engraving is an instance of Turner's power of conquering difficulties. We learn from the following instructions in his handwriting, on the margin of a touched Proof in the possession of Mr. J. E. Taylor, that the sky had not come out well in mezzotinting, but had proved to be what is technically called 'rotten.' Turner writes:

"My advice is first to fill up the rotten or half lights in No. 1, to make it an equal tint, but lighter near No. 2; the whole of the snow mountain three degrees lighter, and the lights *pure paper* (and, if you can, take my lines out). 3. Make darker, and sparkling pieces of snow, but not white ones. 4. Lighter than the sky, the cloud below. 5. Lighter one degree, and fill up the rotten parts towards the side. 5—5 Gradually lighter towards 6; and yet mind all this mass must be lighter than the mountain. 7. These things being well attended to may save the sky."

[The numbers in the above instructions correspond with others on the Proof.]

Mr. Short tells me that after examining the earliest Trial Proofs, he is of opinion that the 'rottenness' referred to, did not arise as has been imagined, from defects in the metal itself, but from some uneven scraping or working by the engraver.

The instructions just quoted, so characteristic of Turner in their minute care for the smallest detail, were carried out, and the plate was saved. But the sky and the distant mountains would no doubt have been much finer had the engraver been able to keep to the Drawing. I think he has also failed to bring out the wonderful perspective of the gallery which is so noticeable in the Drawing. The mountain face however, and the precipices, are finely rendered.

Mr. Stopford Brooke admirably writes of this plate (*Notes on L. S.*, pp. 32-35):

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"I wish I could adequately tell how it is Turner makes the masses of rock and the faces of precipice in his mountain drawings seem so gigantic. No other artist approaches him in this matter. It is not that they succeed ill. They do not succeed at all. It is not that he succeeds well; it is that he succeeds superbly. . . . How is it done? . . . More particularly he gains these massive effects, first, by the infinite change and variety of his outline of a precipice or the edge of a rock—the main curve or fall of the line altering at every tenth of an inch its sweep—so that the eye, unconsciously arrested at every point, never seems to come to an end. The vast rock outlines have this subtlety and variety, but it needs a hand almost as subtle and various as Nature's own to render them. Secondly, this change and subtlety must be expressed within the great lines of stratification, cleavage, or fracture which belong to each kind of rock, and the artist must feel these main lines and never be false to them, no not even in the stones which fall from the rocks on the roadside. And Turner saw and drew rightly these lines, though he knew nothing about them scientifically—in fact, drew them all the better because he was not confused by any geological knowledge. And the lines by which he marked the character of the rocks were as few in broad drawings like this, as they were multitudinous and careful in an elaborate drawing like *Loch Coriskin*. . . . But the interest in this engraving does not end with the discussion of this question. The great cliff on the right is made to seem more huge by the meadowland that spreads over its end. . . . The bold setting of this promontory over against the cliff which descends from the gallery, and the bracing of the two together by the parapet, sends the eye downward to the profound depth of the valley; and it is a proof of what a great artist can do by small means that Turner, with half-a-dozen etched lines, has made us understand the course of the river that runs down the valley, and the amount of its slope. . . ."

The St. Gothard pass, as Mr. Ruskin has pointed out, had always a peculiar attraction for Turner. He says: (*M. P.* vol. v. p. 339, note).

"The pass of the St. Gothard, especially, from his earliest days, had kept possession of his mind, not as a piece of mountain scenery but as a marvellous road; and the great drawing which I have tried to illustrate with some care in this book, the last he made of the Alps with unfailing energy, was wholly made to show the surviving of this tormented path through avalanche and storm,

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from the day when he first drew its two bridges, in the Liber Studiorum."

Turner made numberless drawings of it from various points of view. It was to have furnished another subject for the Liber—the magnificent *Swiss Bridge*, known also as *The Via Mala* (Pl. 78)—one of those which, although nearly if not quite completed, were unfortunately never published.

MOUNT ST. GOTHARD (9) SANKT-GOTTHARD LE SAINT-GOTHARD

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PL. 10. *SHIPS IN A BREEZE.* [M]

In the possession of the Earl of Egremont.

(Generally known as 'THE EGREMONT SEA-PIECE.')

London, published February 20, 1808, *by C. Turner,* 50, *Warren Street, Fitzroy Square. Drawn and Etched by J. M. W. Turner Esq. R.A. P.P. Engraved by Chas. Turner.*

The sea in a fresh breeze. Dark thunder-clouds over left upper sky, with light breaking from behind them. Five sailing ships in middle distance; another on the horizon on right. On left, a pier head, throwing a long shadow over sea.

The Etching.

Engraver's Proofs. (*a*) Thunder-cloud and plate generally, very dark. Before any white lights, and before ray on extreme right. Very fine. *R.* (*b*) Plate becoming progressively lighter. *H.*, *S.*, *T.*, *BM.* All the foregoing have 'in the possession of the Earl of Egremont' in scratched letters, in lower margin.

First Published State. Initial letter (M) an open capital. No measurements given with title.

Second State. Initial letter contains a single vertical line. No measurements. Sometimes fairly good.

Third State. Initial letter open as in First State. '6 by 5' added after 'Egremont' in title. Usually printed in a red tone of ink and very inferior to the earlier States.

Fourth State. Initial letter and measurements as in Third State. Dots added in the 'o's' of both 'of's' in title. Worn throughout.

The Drawing is in the National Gallery.

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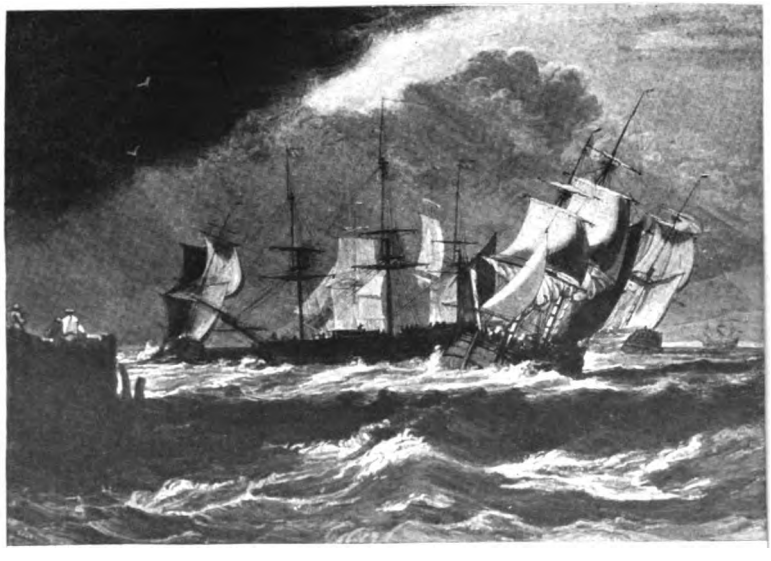
The fine drawing of the sea is very noticeable in this plate, especially the effect of the wind blowing the crests of the waves over.

Turner's absolute mastery of sea and wave drawing had been already shown in his pictures of *The Wreck* and *Calais Pier*—both exhibited in 1803. No other of his great powers appear to me to have been so early and so strikingly manifested. All the seas of the Liber are magnificently drawn. And the fact that this early, complete, and rare success in one branch of art,—and that a most difficult one,—in no way contented him or hindered him from pressing onwards to successes as great in other, widely-differing fields, is one of the strongest grounds for claiming for him a place among the greatest painters of all ages. How many men would have rested satisfied, and would have painted none but sea-pieces for the rest of their lives!

The sky here is one of the finest so far in the Liber. In good impressions, the wreaths of light cloud illuminated by rays breaking from behind the dark thundercloud, give a brilliant effect, very characteristic of Turner.



(10)

SHIPS IN A BREEZE SCHIFFE IM WIND VAISSEAUX SOUS LA BRISE

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PL. 11. HOLY ISLAND CATHEDRAL. [A]

London, published February 20, 1808, *by C. Turner,* 50, *Warren Street, Fitzroy Square. Drawn and Etched by J. M. W. Turner Esq. R.A. P.P. Engraved by Chas. Turner.*

The interior of ruined cathedral, showing three rows of Norman columns and arches. An irregular tier of openings above the pier-arches, and a clerestory with slender lancet windows; all open to sky. Weeds and fallen stones in foreground. Two figures between columns.

The Etching.

Engraver's Proofs. (*a*) Before the many lights all over the masonry of the columns, arches, etc. These are here scraped out by Turner. Lettering as in First Pub. State except that initial letter is wanting. *T.* (*b*) The lights added but not yet made bright white. Initial letter added. *B.*, *R.*

First Published State. Initial letter (A) and title in open capitals.

Second State. Initial letter and title contain a single vertical line. Often good, and not much inferior to the First State.

Third State. Initial letter and title open again, as in First State, but traces of the inside line (which has been removed) can be detected. The dark parts reworked throughout and somewhat heavy; early impressions however are sometimes fairly good. Generally printed in a red tone of ink.

Fourth State. A dot added in 'O' of title. Very worn and poor.

The Drawing is in the National Gallery.

Holy Island Cathedral was much more romantically treated by Turner later, in his *England and Wales.* In

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the Liber he seems to have intended his subjects classed as 'Architectural' to stand mainly on their architectural merits and on their light and shade. In the *England and Wales* his churches and castles are mainly points or centres in the general landscape.

The sharp, firm drawing of the building throughout is very noticeable, especially in the Etching. Nowhere are Turner's strength and certainty of hand more visible than in the curves and the perspective of the Norman arches of the nave. The architecture of this period would appear to have attracted him much more than any other, and he always drew its details very carefully and faithfully.

(11)

Holy Island Cathedral Dom zu Holy Island Cathédrale de Holy Island

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PART III.

ISSUED JUNE 10, 1808.

PL. 12. PEMBURY MILL, KENT. [P]

London, published June 10, 1808, *by C. Turner,* 50, *Warren Street, Fitzroy Square. Drawn and Etched by J. M. W. Turner Esq. R.A. P.P. Engraved by Chas. Turner.*

In front, the open doorway of a flour-mill; inside, a man filling sacks. Outside to left, the mill-wheel, with pigeon-cote above; in centre, dog gnawing bone; to right, a cart being loaded.

The Etching.

Engraver's Proofs. (*a*) Before rays of light coming through doorway, or their reflections on planks and path in foreground. B. a. l. *R.*, *T.* (*b*) Rays and reflections added, but before title. *T.*, *BM.*

First Published State. Initial letter (P) a tall, broad, open capital. Title spelt 'Pembury,' in open capitals. The word 'Proof' faintly etched above initial letter, and at left lower corner in margin.

Second State. Initial letter and title filled up; title spelt 'Pembury.' 'Proof' erased. Generally fine, and often little inferior to the First State.

Third State. Initial letter open as in First State, but much smaller. Title spelt 'Penbury.' Generally printed in a redder tone of ink, and dull. Mr. Bullard however possesses a curious and fine impression of this State during its reworking, which, in its richness of mezzotint, has all the look of an Engraver's Proof; yet the lettering clearly shows it to be the Third State. The *BM.* has another impression, quite completed, also very fine and rich in effect. No doubt

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the added mezzotint, as was always the case, wore away with the first two or three impressions printed.

In the collection of the late Mr. J. E. Taylor is a very late and worn Third State, touched all over by Turner for alterations; but I have never met with any example of a Fourth State to show that the alterations had been transferred to the plate.

The Drawing is in the National Gallery.

This is another of the purely domestic subjects of the Liber. The warm sunbeams pouring through the open doorway and lighting up the flour-filled atmosphere within, the pigeons fluttering about the cote, the finely-drawn vine clustering over the doorway, and the fast-filling sacks within, are probably intended to suggest the peace and comfort of everyday English country life. But the dog is a miserable object; the drawing of the door and of the mill-wheel seems faulty, and the sunbeams surely should show on the outside as well as on the inside of the building. These rays are not in the Drawing, nor in the earlier Trial Proofs, but were added at the last, just before the mezzotinting was completed.

(12)

PEMBURY MILL, KENT — LE MOULIN DE PEMBURY, KENT

DIE MÜHLE VON PEMBURY, KENT

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PL. 13.

THE BRIDGE IN MIDDLE DISTANCE.

(Also called 'THE SUN BETWEEN TREES.') [E.P.]

London, published June 10, 1808, *by C. Turner*, 50, *Warren Street, Fitzroy Square. Drawn and etched by J. M. W. Turner, Esq. R.A. P.P. Engraved by Chas. Turner.*

A classical landscape with river and bridge of eight arches in mid-distance; beyond, a wide stretch of country, over which the sun is setting. In left foreground, a road with group of seated figures, one playing on a pipe; on right, trees casting shadows towards spectator. The sky throughout in aquatint.

The Etching.

Engraver's Proofs. (*a*) Before high lights in foreground. Furthest distant reach of river bright white. *R.* (*b*) Later, in various stages. *B.*, *T.* All b. a. l. The early Proofs are richer in effect, but less brilliant than the later ones.

First Published State. Initial letters (E. P.) in open capitals about $\frac{1}{16}$ of an inch from top of plate. 'Proof' in italics at left lower corner in margin, close to plate mark. The sun clearly defined *light*, but not *white*, against a slightly darker sky.

Second State. Initials filled up and 'Proof' erased. The sun quite white against an almost white sky (the aquatint ground of the latter having worn away), and consequently not nearly so clearly defined as in the First State. The general effect still often fairly good.

Third State. Initials open as in First State, but smaller, and $\frac{3}{16}$ of an inch from top of plate. The sun scarcely to be distinguished, the sky having become almost uniformly light.

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Fourth State. Initials as in Third State. The sky reworked, apparently in mezzotint, and patchy. Two rays strike upwards from the sun, which is once more visible against the darkened space around it.

The Drawing is in the National Gallery.

This plate has been condemned by Mr. Ruskin as "one of those founded first on nature but modified by forced imitation of Claude." (*M. P.*, vol. iii. p. 324.) But despite a certain heaviness in the engraving of the foliage —Charles Turner, I think, never fully mastered trees— the pleasant effect of still, golden, evening light diffused over the far-stretching prospect, and the rendering of atmosphere and distance, seem to me very attractive and worthy of any great painter of classical landscape.

It has been pointed out that one of the trees in the foreground, casts apparently two if not three distinct shadows. This is however purely the engraver's error, although it is strange that it was not detected by Turner. The shadows are all perfectly correct in the Drawing, and on comparing the latter with the Engraving it is easy to see how the mistake arose. Two outlines, which in the Drawing enclose the shadow of a single tree-trunk, have been converted by the engraver into two separate, slender shadows, whilst the third shadow, which was meant

(13)

THE BRIDGE IN MIDDLE DISTANCE LE PONT À DISTANCE MOYENNE

DIE BRÜCKE IM MITTELGRUND

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PL. 14. DUNSTANBOROUGH[1] CASTLE. [A]

The picture in the possession of W. Penn, Esq.

London, published June 10, 1808, *by C. Turner,* 50, *Warren Street, Fitzroy Square. Drawn and Etched by J. M. W. Turner Esq. R.A. P.P. Engraved by C. Turner.*

Ruins of large castle on left above the sea. Below castle, a cottage with a light in one window; near it, skeleton of stranded ship. Morning light breaking from right. The sky and the upper part of the plate down to the rocks in aquatint.

The Etching.

Engraver's Proofs. (*a*) Very early; the upper part of the sky all dark. *Mr. F. Short.* (*b*) A little later; drawn upon all over and touched in white by Turner, with the following note by him to the engraver in the margin: "Sir, you have done in aquatint all the castle down to the rocks; did I ever ask for such an indulgence?" *T.* (*c*) More advanced; central ridge of rocks below castle much darker than in Pub. States. Lettering as in First Pub. State, except that the word 'Proof' is wanting, the date is May 20 instead of June 10, and 'a picture' replaces 'the picture.' *R.*

First Published State. Initial letter (A) a tall open capital, nearly $\frac{3}{16}$ of an inch in height. 'Proof' in italics at left lower corner in margin, just above plate mark.

Second State. Initial letter filled up; 'Proof' still in margin. The sky suffers considerably, the light clouds losing their brilliancy.

Third State. Initial a very small open capital, little more than $\frac{1}{16}$ of an inch in height. 'Proof' still in margin. In title, 'a Picture' substituted for 'the Picture,' and '3 ft.

[1] Mis-spelt '*Duntanborough*' in all the impressions.

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by 4 ft.' added. The original effect much impaired; the foreground, having worn dull and pale, fails to throw up by contrast the light on the castle; the water also loses its transparency.

The Drawing is in the National Gallery.

This plate, although not so striking at first sight as some plates of the Liber, grows in attractiveness as it is better known. *Dunstanborough*—"wan above the sea," as Mr. Ruskin has so expressively called it—is an exquisite effect of early morning. We can feel the rare freshness of the North Sea air in the calm, clear sunrise, after a stormy night. Notice also the fine drawing of the waves; especially of the meeting and crossing currents of the receding tide.

Turner surely had a meaning too when he made the lowly cottage the only secure and sheltering dwelling to be seen. The ambitious but ruined walls and towers of the castle stretch above it, and the grim skeleton of the once perhaps richly-freighted but now stranded ship, lies below it. Its lighted window alone tells of life and human occupations, while the castle is left to the sheep and the hull to the sea-gulls.

The engraving of the sky and the upper part of the plate in aquatint in place of mezzotint was done, as the curt note to the engraver quoted above shows, without Turner's sanction. Mr. Short considers that the mezzotint ground of the lower part of the plate must have been laid first, and the upper added afterwards in aquatint. The latter process would save a great deal of work on the sky. Small dark lines of cloud with light edges, such as there are here, would, he tells me, involve a large amount of labour in mezzotint, but could be done in a few hours with aquatint. It will be observed that the different grain peculiar to aquatint gives apparently a greyer colour to the upper part of the plate, although of

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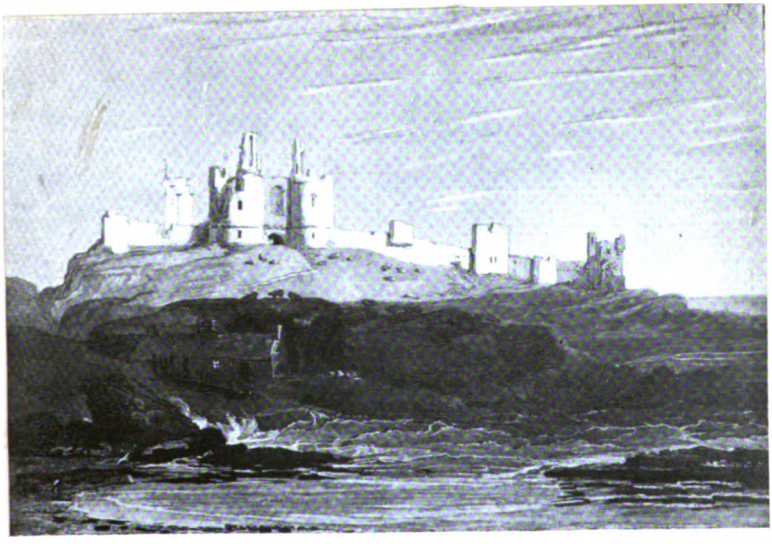
course it was printed at the same time and with the same ink as the mezzotint portion.

The view of *Dunstanborough* in the *England and Wales* is very similar, but is taken from a point rather more to the left. The Castle is still much the same as in Turner's time, but the cottage has long disappeared. The late Bishop Creighton however, who was for many years vicar of the parish, told me that many of the old people remembered it well.



(14)

DUNSTANBOROUGH CASTLE LE CHATEAU DE DUNSTANBOROUGH
SCHLOSS DUNSTANBOROUGH

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PL. 15. LAKE OF THUN, SWISS. [M]

London, published June 10, 1808, *by C. Turner*, 50, *Warren Street, Fitzroy Square. Drawn and etched by J. M. W. Turner Esq. R.A. P.P. Engraved by Chas. Turner.*

In centre, the Lake agitated by a storm; boat on Lake, and many figures with carts and bales, on shore on right. Mountains slope down on either side and enclose Lake. Lightning breaking from dark cloud above in centre. Arborescent lightning in distance at head of Lake.

The Etching.

Engraver's Proofs. (*a*) Early; mountains opposite and Lake itself much lighter than afterwards. Sky unfinished. *T.* (*b*) Mountains and Lake darkened. Before distant Alps were lightened, and before arborescent lightning. *R.* Both the foregoing b. a. l. (*c*) All but completed, and lettering as in First Pub. State; with the following note in margin by Turner to the engraver.

"Has Mr. Macmillan any more of my paper!! If not you can get some at Winchester's in the Strand, on your own account (that is I do not want to have more bought or printed than will do for the next number) but if you will allow me I think that the plates had better be finished before the wrappers are printed. Respecting advertizing you know full well that everything ought to have been done long ago!! I have not seen a word in the papers, take it away again from the *times* [*sic*]: if you can get advertized anywhere DO so, my rooms will close in a fortnight the plates not done —not advertized in short. Everything has transpired [*sic*] against the work!!" *T.*

First Published State. Initial letter (M) and title in open capitals; the former, $\frac{1}{8}$ of an inch from top of plate. 'Proof' in very faint italics, at left lower corner in margin, just

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above plate-mark, and also above Initial letter. A comma after 'Thun' in title.

Second State. Initial and title filled up. 'Proof' erased. A comma after 'Thun.' Much inferior to First State, the shadows throughout having lost their depth, the mountain masses their gradation, and the lightning its brilliancy.

Third State. Initial and title in open capitals, but the former broader than in the First State, and $\frac{3}{16}$ of an inch from top of plate. The comma after 'Thun' erased.

Usually very dull throughout.

The sepia Drawing is in the National Gallery; the original Drawing in colours from which it was taken is at Farnley.

The Etching of this plate is fine; the mountain slopes and contours are particularly well brought out, and the lines of the composition are very agreeable. In the Engraving these features are a good deal hidden by the mezzotinting, but early impressions—Engravers' Proofs especially—are attractive from the brilliant rendering of the thunderstorm. The latter however soon wore away as printing went on, and many impressions even of the First State, and all the later States, are dull and uninteresting.

Mr. Ruskin, referring to a later drawing by Turner of the Lake of Thun, remarks with great truth on the lasting hold which the first impressions of a scene almost invariably made upon him:

"But he rarely painted on the spot: he looked, gathered, considered; then painted the sum of what he had gained, up to the point necessary for due note of it, and much more of the impression, since that would pass, than of the scene, which would remain.

"The Niesen and Stockhorn might be completely drawn at any time; but his vision of them amidst their thunder-clouds, and his impression of the stormy lake, with the busy people on its shore, careless of storm or calm, was to be kept. And kept it was, to his latest day, realized first completely in the 'Lake of Thun' of the Liber Studiorum."—*Notes on his Turner Drawings*, 1878, p. 17.

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It will be observed that in this plate Turner, just before the completion of the engraving, introduced the curious phenomenon known as 'arborescent lightning,' in which the lightning takes a form somewhat resembling a cross, or a trunk of a tree with two arms. I believe it occurs but seldom, and then usually in mountainous districts. I once saw it at the head of Loch Awe in Argyllshire.

(15)

LAKE OF THUN, SWITZERLAND THUNER SEE, SCHWEIZ LAC DE THUN, SUISSE

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PL. 16.

THE FIFTH PLAGUE OF EGYPT. [H]

The picture late in the possession of W. Beckford, Esq.

London, published June 10, 1808. *Drawn and Etched by J. M. W. Turner Esq. R.A. P.P. Engraved by C. Turner.*

In the distance, the Pyramids, over which lightning is breaking at many points from dark clouds right across sky; fires running along ground below. In left foreground, a pool, beside which is a dead horse and rider; on right, two figures.

The Etching.

Engraver's Proofs. (*a*) Early; very dark, drawn upon all over by Turner. *R.* (*b*) Later, Pyramids and central portion much lightened. *R.* Both the above have "late in the possession of R. Becford Esq." [*sic*] in scratched writing, in upper margin. *R.* (*c*) With lettering as in First Pub. State but before lightning flashes. *T.* (*d*) Lightning added and plate nearly completed. Drawn upon by Turner and with the following note to the engraver in the margin: "Make the lightning quite white—this is the best yet by far." *T.*

First Published State. Initial letter (H) an open capital about ¼ of an inch from top of plate. 'Proof' in italics, extremely faint, at left lower corner in margin, just above plate mark.

Second State. Initial filled up. 'Proof' erased. Down-strokes of capital letters of title thickened. Good impressions may occasionally be met with, but the sky is usually much inferior in brilliancy to the First State.

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Third State. Initial, open as in First State, but $\frac{3}{16}$ of an inch from top of plate. '6 by 5,' added after title. Worn, and dull throughout.

The Drawing is in the National Gallery; the oil Picture from which it was taken is in the Collection of Sir F. Cook, Bart.

Of this plate Mr. Ruskin justly observes (*M. P.*, i. p. 127):

"The Fifth Plague is a total failure; the Pyramids look like brick-kilns, and the fire running along the ground like burning manure."

The plague of hail and fire represented here was the seventh, not the fifth. See Exodus ix. 22-26.

(16)

THE FIFTH PLAGUE OF EGYPT — LA CINQUIÈME PLAIE D'ÉGYPTE

DIE FÜNFTE PLAGE VON ÄGYPTEN

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PART IV.

ISSUED MARCH 29, 1809.

PL. 17.

THE FARM-YARD WITH THE COCK. [P]

London, published March 29, 1809, *by C. Turner,* 50, *Warren Street, Fitzroy Square. Drawn and Etched by J. M. W. Turner Esq. R.A. P.P. Engraved by Chas. Turner.*

In front of a dung-heap in the foreground, pigs are lying and poultry feeding; beyond, a cart and palings, with trees above them. Two labourers leaning against the palings.

The Etching.

Engraver's Proofs. In various stages. All b. a. l. *H.*, *T.* (three). On one (*T.*) Turner has written:

"Too much half tone shadow through the whole. You must endeavour to mass by making the straw light and sharp the weeds lighter and the background cart lighter too."

"Relieve one cart from the other cart in shade. The barrow is in the same strength of shade as the ground behind, therefore you must relieve it by sharp lights the whole lighter with the Cock Hen and Pigs. Clear spirited [?] lights upon them. The lights are only made with common chalk therefore will not . . . [*illegible*]!!"

First Published State. Has fewer lights in the straw than in subsequent States; beyond this I can see no differences, but of course wear is apparent in the general loss of brightness in the lights, and depth in the shadows, as printing went on. The late impressions show reworking throughout.

The Drawing is in the National Gallery.

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This very uninteresting and ill-drawn plate is said to have been done by Turner in reply to a challenge from his friend and patron Mr. Stokes, who had declared that not even he (Turner) could make a picture out of straight lines. It will be seen however, that even if this was the case, the conditions have not been observed.

It will be noticed that this, and the other commonplace subjects of the Liber (Plates 7, 22, 29, 32, 47), nearly all appeared in the earlier half of the work. The later portion, although it may have an awkwardly-drawn figure here and there, is happily free from farm-yards, pigs, and boys' sports, which Turner could well have left to Morland and Webster who painted them far better.

(17)

THE FARM-YARD WITH THE COCK — LA COUR DE FERME AVEC LE COQ

DER HOFRAUM MIT DEM HAHNE

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PL. 18.

Drawing of the CLYDE. *In the possession of J. M. W. Turner.* $\frac{f.\ i.}{3\ 4}$ $\frac{}{2\ 3}$ [E. P.]

London, published March 29, 1809, *by C. Turner,* 50, *Warren Street, Fitzroy Square. Drawn and Etched by J. M. W. Turner Esq. R.A. P.P. Engraved by Chas. Turner.*

In centre, a cascade, upon which the sun's rays are falling. On right and above cascade, rocks and trees. On left, a perpendicular rock with trees at top; below, women bathing.

The Etching.

Engraver's Proofs. (*a*) Early; before any rays of light on fall; the break of light on left much less distinct than later. Figures of women bright white. This is a singularly beautiful impression, very different in effect from the later Proofs and the Published States, and much more harmonious. *BM.* Another, very similar. *H.* Both b. a. l. (*b*) Rays scraped out by Turner just over the fall. Figures slightly darkened. Lettering as in First Pub. State except that 'Drawing of the' is wanting before 'CLYDE.' *R.* (*c*) Rays drawn in white for further prolongation downwards, and new rays added above fall. New mezzotint all over left corner and on rocks. Three nearest bathers white. *T.* (*d*) Rays still further prolonged and parallel ray added from break of light on left, to bottom of fall. 'Drawing of the' added in Turner's writing. Figures much lighter than in First Pub. State. *T.*

First Published State. Initial letters (E.P.) and 'CLYDE' in title, in open capitals, the strokes of equal thickness. Foliage at left corner, just above women, has distinct lights falling on it.

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Second State. Initials and 'CLYDE' in open capitals, but with left strokes thicker than right. A good deal re-touched. No lights on foliage at left upper corner. Rays of light over fall still visible, but much fainter, and their transparent effect lost. Very inferior to the First State.

Third State. Initials and title as in Second State. Reworked throughout. Lights again appear on foliage to left, above the women. Rays of light over fall are restored, and in a few early impressions the general effect is improved; but the new work rapidly wore away and usually the rays are hardly visible.

The sepia Drawing is in the National Gallery. The large coloured Drawing from which it was taken is in the possession of R. D. Holt, Esq.

This plate is seen at its best in the first Engraver's Proofs, in which, as in the Drawing, there are no rays above the fall, but a beautiful serene light, as of early morning, pervades the whole scene. It is fine again in the impressions taken *immediately* after the rays were added, but the mezzotinting of these rays was so delicate that their beautiful transparency was soon lost, and all the later impressions, even of the First State, are dull in comparison.

(18)

THE CLYDE DIE CLYDE LA CLYDE

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PL. 19. LITTLE DEVIL'S BRIDGE *over the* RUSS *above* ALTDORFT, SWISS^{D}. [M^{S}.]

London, published March 29, 1809, *by C. Turner*, 50, *Warren Street, Fitzroy Square. Drawn and Etched by J. M. W. Turner Esq. R.A. P.P. Engraved by Chas. Turner.*

Across chasm in centre, a bridge of a single arch, through which is seen a torrent below. Above and beyond bridge, mountains shrouded in mist. In foreground on right, stump of tree with skeleton of mule below it. Pines on left.

The Etching.

Engraver's Proofs. (*a*) Before any rays of light above the fall. B. a. l. *B.*, *T.*, *BM.* On the earliest of these (*BM.*) Turner has written the first of the instructions to the engraver printed below. On a slightly later one (*B.*) are the second instructions. (*b*) The rays added. Lettering as in First Pub. State, but before initial letter, and with the spelling 'Alldorft' instead of 'Altdorft.' *B.*, *H.*, *R.*, *T.*, *BM.*

First Published State. Initial letter (M^{s}) and title in open capitals, the strokes of equal thickness.

Second State. Initial and title in open capitals with the right strokes distinctly thicker than the left. Fine impressions of this State can scarcely be distinguished from the First State except by these marks.

Third State. Lettering as in Second State. Sky re-worked and darkened. The drifting mists above and below the bridge scarcely visible; the whole plate worn and all luminous reflection gone from the bridge.

The Drawing is in the National Gallery.

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The two touched proofs alluded to above, with the following marginal instructions by Turner to the engraver, are interesting examples of the minute care and exact attention given by the painter to the smallest details of each plate. On the earlier, (*BM.*) we read:

"The light must be sharp and brilliant, particularly upon the front trees, bones, rock, &c.; and if my etching is in your way, viz. the bird and top of the tree, scrape out or beat up the copper. Be careful about the distance. It wants air and light scraping to render it like the place."

And on the later (*B.*):

"This sky is much better, but do not understand the spots amongst the light part. A slight indication of a ray of bursting light under the bridge would improve that part, and a few sharp white touches upon the leaves marked ×, because they are now two black spots without connection with the stems of the trees. Put a shade upon the top of the bridge, and under at the top of the arch."

The Little Devil's Bridge, both as Etching and Engraving, ranks among the finest plates of the Liber. The former is especially striking. Mr. Hamerton writes of it (*Etching and Etchers*, 1st Ed., p. 90):

(19)

LITTLE DEVIL'S BRIDGE OVER THE REUSS — LE PETIT PONT DU DIABLE AU TRAVERS DU REUSS

KLEINE TEUFELSBRÜCKE ÜBER DER REUSS

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PL. 20.

Original Sketch of a Picture for W. Leader, Esq.

(Generally known as 'THE LEADER SEA-PIECE,' and also called 'THE GUARD-SHIP AT THE NORE.') [M]

London, published March 29, 1809, *by C. Turner*, 50, *Warren Street, Fitzroy Square. Drawn and Etched by J. M. W. Turner Esq. R.A. P.P. Engraved by Chas. Turner.*

A sea in a slight breeze. On right, a man-of-war at anchor, with one sail set and ensign flying. A boat on left running before the wind, and others on horizon. Light breaks through clouds on left.

The Etching.

Engraver's Proofs. (*a*) Before three-masted ship and smack with white sail in distance. Horizon a plain white line stretching across plate. B. a. l. *B.*, *BM.* (*b*) Completed, and with lettering as in First Pub. State except that the initial letter is wanting. *C.*, *R.*

First Published State. The initial letter (M) an open capital, the strokes of equal thickness. Title in italics; all the strokes same thickness throughout.

Second State. Initial letter has the right strokes much thicker than the left. Title with down-strokes of italics slightly thickened. Light clouds much less brilliant. Sea also loses much of the sparkling effect produced by the sharp contrast of the deepest darks with the brightest lights. Early impressions are, however, sometimes fairly good.

Third State. Lettering as Second State. Worn throughout. The strong darks in the sea defining the waves, nearly lost. Sky reworked and much darker and duller.

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The Drawing is in the National Gallery. A slighter sepia sketch somewhat resembling it was formerly in the Bale collection.

The drawing of sky and sea in *The Leader Sea-Piece* is masterly. There is a fine breezy effect in the run of the waves before the wind, especially where they break against the buoy in the foreground.

There are several large oil pictures by Turner of this period, all more or less resembling this plate. The subjects in each case are taken from the neighbourhood of the Nore, near Sheerness, and it is difficult exactly to identify the picture from which this plate is taken, especially as the important addition of the man-of-war in the offing was made in the course of engraving.

(20)

THE LEADER SEA-PIECE — LA MARINE DITE "DE LEADER"

DAS LEADER'SCHE SEESTÜCK

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PL. 21. MORPETH, NORTH^D. [A]

London, published March 29, 1809, *by C. Turner,* 50, *Warren Street, Fitzroy Square. Drawn and Etched by J. M. W. Turner Esq. R.A. P.P. Engraved by Chas. Turner.*

A road through a town, over a bridge; in foreground, a woman leading a horse towards the spectator. On right, houses against which ladders are placed; booths below. On left, an inn with sign hanging out. Beyond, a low, square, ruined tower on a hill.

The Etching.

Engraver's Proofs. (*a*) Before white detail work on gable of house on right. Sky lighter than in Published States. *R.* (*b*) A little later, both touched by Turner. *B.*, *T.* The latter Proof has the following instructions to the engraver:

"I think the whole sky would be better a tone lighter, besides the light clouds, which will make the hill more solid. The white-washed house cannot be too white, or the linen upon the stall. The etched line at the corner of the house, and some brighter bits upon tiling of the houses."

All the foregoing b. a. l.

First Published State. Initial letter (A) and title in open capitals, the strokes of equal thickness.

Second State. Initial letter and title with the right-hand strokes heavier than the left. Sky much less brilliant, and shadows throughout lose depth. Figures in distance on opposite bank, on right of bridge, taken out lighter.

Third State. Lettering as Second State. Sky reworked, and much darker and duller.

The Drawing is in the National Gallery.

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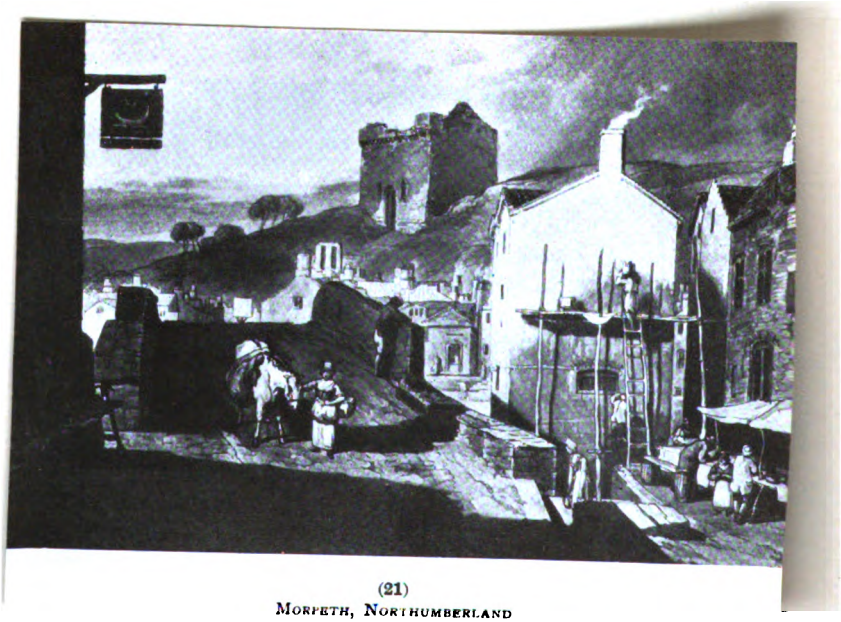
Though somewhat prosaic in subject, in composition this plate is fine, and very characteristic of Turner. It will be noticed how the square, light mass of the house on the right is repeated and balanced by the square dark tower beyond. The dark sign hanging out on the left is repeated by a light sign beyond the bridge. The ladders and scaffolding are evidently placed to break the otherwise monotonous space of blank wall, and they greatly help the composition. The distribution of light and shade is extremely effective. Observe how the former is focussed at the base of the smoke seen light against the dark sky, and how it spreads downwards over the plate.

The Etching is forcibly drawn, and the perspective admirable. Mr. Ruskin (*Elements of Drawing*, p. 134) recommends it as desirable for study.

The picturesque old bridge seen here, like alas so many all over England, has been removed to make way for a prosaic cast-iron structure.



(21)
MORPETH, NORTHUMBERLAND

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PART V.

ISSUED JANUARY 1, 1811.

PL. 22. JUVENILE TRICKS. [P]

Published January 1, 1811, *by Mr. Turner, Queen Ann Street West. Drawn and Etched by J. M. W. Turner R.A. Engraved by W. Say, Engraver to H.R.H. the Duke of Gloucester.*

Boys playing round a trough in the foreground. In distance, a row of houses seen through trees.

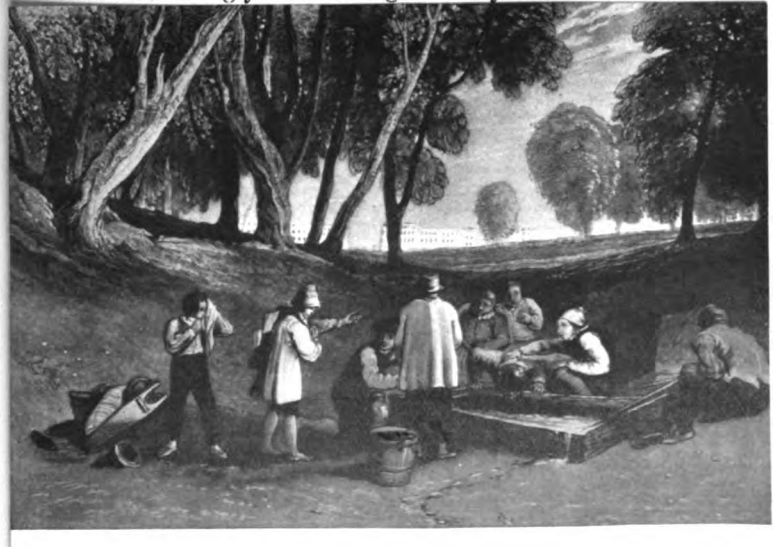
The Etching.

Engraver's Proofs. Before the lights were made quite white. B. a. l. *B., R., T., BM.*

First Published State. Before any mark in margin.

Second State. A mark resembling a capital H at left lower corner in margin, just above plate-mark. Before dot in bow of initial letter (P).

Third State. Same mark in margin as in Second State. A dot in bow of 'P.' Houses on horizon taken out a bright white and strongly relieved against sky which has been



(22)

JUVENILE TRICKS JUGENDSTREICHE FARCE DE JEUNESSE

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PL. 23. *THE HINDOO WORSHIPPER.*

(Also known as 'HINDOO DEVOTIONS.') [E.P.]

Published January 1, 1811, *by Mr. Turner, Queen Ann Street West. Drawn and Etched by J. M. W. Turner R.A. P.P. Engraved by R. Dunkarton.*

On right, still water, with trees and walls above. In centre, many tall trees, below one of which, a stone pine, a figure is kneeling before an image or picture. In mid-distance, a temple; hills and water beyond. Two large sculptured blocks of stone in foreground.

The Etching.

Engraver's Proofs. (*a*) Before any white clouds, or white distance below trees. Plate generally much lighter than afterwards, and silvery in tone. *R.* (*b*) More advanced and darker. *T.*, *BM.* All b. a. l.

First Published State. Very few horizontal bars of light cloud in upper sky. A mottled effect noticeable throughout the sky, arising from 'rottenness' in the copper, or more probably from defective engraving. No mark in margin. Rare.

Second State. Sky entirely altered; the upper part covered with long diagonal lines of light clouds, stretching across from left to right. No mark in margin.

Third State. The sky as in Second State. An irregular mark somewhat resembling a capital H at each lower angle of margin. Before dot in bow of initial letter 'P.' Often fine.

Fourth State. Same mark in margin as in Third State. A dot in bow of initial letter 'P.' A good deal reworked. The walls on right bank above water distinctly outlined light throughout. Early impressions are fairly good.

The Drawing is in the National Gallery.

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This beautiful plate is of great interest as showing Turner's complete understanding of the technique of engraving, and his resourcefulness in meeting unexpected difficulties. The difference between the First and Second States is not one of marks or re-touches, but between two wholly different effects—sunset and sunrise—and both are beautiful. The First State, following the Drawing, is dark and solemn, the Second is radiant with the brightness of dawn.

The cause of the alteration was probably the same as in *Mont St. Gothard* (Pl. 9). In the First State, the sky will be seen to have a mottled appearance all over, arising no doubt from the mezzotinting having failed. This would require to be hidden, or the plate with all the work upon it, would soon have had to be sacrificed. This was not the thing for Turner to submit to. Accordingly, with consummate skill, he transforms the whole effect, turns evening into morning with a few touches of the scraper, and saves the plate.[1]

The fine drawing of the stone pine, conspicuous both in the Etching and the Engraving, cannot fail to be noticed: also the admirable way in which the light is focussed in one bright yet subdued spot in the sky. Block out this spot and the sky at once becomes dull. As regards the meaning of the plate, probably Turner intended to contrast the simplicity of the wayside worship and the half-clad worshipper, with the departed glories of the more elaborate faith and the higher civilization which are suggested by the ruined temple and the fallen, richly-carved capital. Such contrasts, intentionally introduced, will frequently be found in his works.

Mr. Stopford Brooke (*Notes on L. S.*, p. 78) thinks that this plate is an ideal reminiscence of Rome and the surrounding Campagna, and there is no doubt a very

[1] About fifteen impressions of the First State had been taken before the alteration was made.

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strong resemblance. But the half-naked Hindoo seems an insuperable objection to this view. Probably Turner was more or less indebted to Claude for the first idea of the subject, and the Hindoo was thrown in to give the plate an added meaning. This would be very characteristic of him.

(23)

THE HINDOO WORSHIPPER ANBETENDER HINDU L'ADORATEUR HINDOU

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PL. 24. COAST OF YORKSHIRE. *near Whitby.* [M]

Published January 1, 1811, *by Mr. Turner, Queen Ann Street West. Drawn and Etched by J. M. W. Turner R.A. Engraved by W. Say, Engraver to H.R.H. the Duke of Gloucester.*

On left, high cliffs above sea; on farthest cliff, a white lighthouse; below, on right, a ship wrecked on ridge of rocks with breakers all round. Many figures on rocks, and others in sea in left foreground, apparently rescuing crew.

The Etching.

Engraver's Proofs. (*a*) Early; the spray driving up cliffs very faintly indicated. Before wreckage floating in lower right corner. *BM.* (*b*) More advanced, in various stages. *B.*, *R.*, *BM.* All b. a. l. These Engraver's Proofs are extremely beautiful, especially in the effect of the spray blowing off the sea and driving up the cliffs. This delicate mezzotinting however soon became impaired as printing went on.

First Published State. The initial letter (M) an open capital. Before any mark in margin.

Second State. A cross in left lower corner of margin, just above plate-mark. Much of the fine effect of the spray driving up the cliffs lost.

Third State. Mark in margin altered to an irregular capital H. The lighter parts much worn throughout, and the darker reworked and heavy. Very inferior.

Fourth State. Same mark in margin as in Third State; a dot added in middle of 'O' of 'Yorkshire' in title.

The Drawing is in the National Gallery.

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The Etching of this plate seems weak in parts, but it shows Turner's grasp of the soft, shaly nature of the rocks on the coast round Whitby. It is interesting to observe his different treatment of the etched line in them as compared with that of the hard rocks in the Etching of *Mont St. Gothard* (Pl. 9), and again with the water-worn boulders in *Blair Athol* (Pl. 30), and *Ben Arthur* (Pl. 69).

The fierce North Sea gale is finely rendered in the Engraving, especially the mist of spray hanging over the waves and driven by the wind far up the cliffs. The beauty of this effect, which must be familiar to every one who has watched a gale on the coast, can only be fully seen in the Engraver's Proofs, as the mezzotinting was necessarily so delicate that it would not bear much printing. It has, in fact, virtually disappeared from all States after the First.

(24)

COAST OF YORKSHIRE, NEAR WHITBY — CÔTE DE YORKSHIRE, PRÈS WHITBY
KÜSTE VON YORKSHIRE, NAHE WHITBY

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PL. 25. HIND HEAD HILL. *On the Portsmouth Road.* [M]

Published January 1, 1811, *by Mr. Turner, Queen Ann Street West. Drawn and Etched by J. M. W. Turner R.A. P.P. Engraved by Dunkarton.*

In mid-distance, a hill in shadow; at its furthest point a gallows, and at its base a fire, from which smoke is rising. Sheep lying in foreground, and shepherd among them on right. Light breaking from behind dark clouds above gallows. A coach coming round the shoulder of hill on right.

The Etching.

Engraver's Proofs. (*a*) Early; the sky darker than afterwards, and without any rays of light breaking upwards. Before the bright light at base of fire. *R.* (*b*) Rays added, and light at base of fire. *T.*, *BM.* All b. a. l. (*c*) Engraving completed, but before gibbet was re-etched in the form it finally took. Lettering as in First Pub. State. *R.*

First Published State. Initial letter (M) an open capital. Before any mark in margin.

Second State. Initial letter as in First State. A mark resembling a cross or figure 4, in left lower corner of margin, just above plate-mark.

Third State. The left thicker member of the initial letter 'M' contains a line. Mark in margin altered to an irregular capital H. More light clouds in sky to left of gallows; noticeably one long horizontal streak, added above the round cloudlets over the furthest point of the hill, and stretching to within an inch of left margin of plate. Early impressions are fine.

Fourth State. Initial letter and mark in margin as in Third State. A dot added in middle of 'D' of title. Much paler

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throughout, and considerably altered by Turner in order to restore the balance of the plate. The fire is higher and broader, and a slope of hill just above it on left is outlined light. This State is very beautiful.

Fifth State. A line inside *both* the thick members of the initial letter 'M.' Mark in margin and dot in 'D' as in preceding State. Very worn and inferior.

The Drawing is in the National Gallery.

Hind Head Hill is one of the notable plates of the Liber, both in the Etching and the Engraving. The sky is among the most subtle and masterly of the many fine skies in the work. No hand but Turner's could have caught the intricate play of those rays of afternoon sunshine which break from behind the clouds, just coming up across the sun. The sheep scattered and feeding, and the shepherd, stretched on the turf with his book, suggest the quiet and warmth of midsummer. The flock, the burning weeds, and the passing coach speak only of the peaceful occupations of daily life, and contrast, as they doubtless are intended to, with the grim skeletons hanging from the gibbet on the hill-top. In the Etching, these are swinging vigorously with the wind, but Turner altered them at the last moment in the Engraving.

(25)

Hindhead Hill.
On the Portsmouth Road

La Colline de Hindhead.
Sur la Route de Portsmouth

Der Hügel von Hindhead. Auf dem Weg nach Portsmouth

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PL. 26. LONDON FROM GREENWICH. [A]

Picture in the possession of Walter Fawkes Esq. of Farnley. 3 ft. by 4 ft.

Published January 1, 1811, *by Mr. Turner, Queen Ann Street West. Drawn and Etched by J. M. W. Turner R. A. P.P. Engraved by C. Turner.*

View from top of Greenwich Park looking down on cupolas and buildings of Greenwich Hospital. The Thames beyond, with shipping. London in distance on horizon. Trees and deer in foreground. Church tower on extreme left.

The Etching.

Engraver's Proofs. (*a*) Early; foreground very dark. Drawn upon by Turner. *T.* (*b*) Foreground lightened. Also touched by Turner, and in margin he has written "Water about the Chimney pure white and the Smoke near St. Pauls very light!!" *T.* (*c*) More advanced, but before any white lights on sky, smoke, river or buildings. *T.* (*d*) Completed except lettering. *B.* All the foregoing b. a. l.

First Published State. Before any mark in margin.

Second State. A mark resembling a capital H in left lower corner of margin, just above plate-mark. No dot in first 'O' of 'London' in title. The sky much less brilliant than the First State, and the fine distant effect on the horizon greatly impaired.

Third State. Same mark in margin as in Second State. A dot added in middle of first 'O' of 'London' in title. Dull throughout.

The Drawing is in the National Gallery. Another, differing considerably, is in the collection of the late Mr. J. E. Taylor. The oil Picture is also in the National Gallery, as well as an earlier slight pencil sketch.

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This distant view of London is taken, with little alteration, from the oil Picture, painted about 1809, which is now in the National Gallery. In both the eye travels across the pleasant grassy slopes of the park to the gleaming reaches of river beyond dotted with white sails, on to the great city on the horizon, the very smoke of which is made to enhance its beauty. Turner has given the poetry of distant London here, just as Meryon, in one or two of his Etchings, has given the poetry of distant Paris.

It will be noticed that in the composition, Turner has adopted his favourite plan of repeating his prominent foreground forms; the dome of St. Paul's, small from its distance, repeats and balances the two cupolas of the Hospital. In the oil Picture, the tower on the left is not seen, but as it is introduced in the Engraving, its lines are carried on to the horizon by the towers of Westminster Abbey, added with great effect for that purpose.

A very fine, large aquatint of the same subject, printed in colours, was drawn, engraved, and published by W. Daniell R.A., in 1804. The treatment is so exactly similar to Turner's that I feel sure he must have seen it.

(26)

London from Greenwich — Londres vu de Greenwich

London von Greenwich gesehen

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PART VI.

ISSUED JUNE 1, 1811.

PL. 27. *WINDMILL AND LOCK.*

FROM A PICTURE IN THE POSSESSION OF J. M. W. TURNER R.A. [P]

Published June 1, 1811, *by J. M. W. Turner, Queen Ann Street West. Drawn and Etched by J. M. W. Turner. Engraved by W. Say, Engraver to H.R.H. the Duke of Gloucester.*

In centre, on bank inclining to left, a windmill in profile. Below it, in front, a canal lock, the gates of which men are closing; barge inside has a fire in stern. To right of lock, a white horse. The sun declining, with light clouds.

The Etching.

Engraver's Proofs. (*a*) Very dark. The sun much smaller than in the finished state; before the many rows of small light clouds in upper sky. *R.* (*b*) Advanced; sun larger and light clouds added. *T.*, *BM.* All b. a. l.

First Published State. Before any mark in margin.

Second State. A mark resembling a capital H about ½ an inch below right lower angle of plate, but so faint as to be hardly visible. Good impressions are little inferior to the First State.

Third State. Same mark in margin as in Second State. Dot added in the first 'O' of 'Possession' in title. Often fairly good.

I know of no Drawing for this plate. It was probably etched direct from the oil Picture, which now belongs to Sir Frederick Cook, Bart. An impression of the Etching coloured

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in sepia, in my possession, was probably the guide for the engraver.

Mr. Ruskin has written very characteristically of this subject. Comparing Turner's sense of the picturesque with that of other painters, and especially with Stanfield's, he says (*M. P.* vol. iv. p. 7):

"I take, therefore, a windmill, forming the principal subject in his (Stanfield's) drawing of 'Brittany near Dol' (engraved in the *Coast Scenery*), and beside it I place a windmill, which forms also the principal subject in Turner's study of the Lock, in the Liber Studiorum. At first sight, I daresay, the reader may like Stanfield's best; and there is indeed a great deal more in it to attract liking. Its roof is nearly as interesting as a piece of stony peak on a mountain, with a châlet built on its side; and it is exquisitely varied in swell and curve. Turner's roof, on the contrary, is a plain, ugly gable—a windmill roof and nothing more. Stanfield's sails are twisted into most effective wrecks, as beautiful as pine-bridges over Alpine streams; only they do not look as if they had ever been serviceable windmill sails; they are bent about in cross and awkward ways, as if they were warped or cramped, and their timbers look heavier than necessary. Turner's sails have no beauty about them, like that of Alpine bridges; but they have the exact switchy-sway of the sail that is always straining against the wind; and the timbers form clearly the lightest possible framework for the canvas, thus showing the essence of windmill sail. Then the clay wall of Stanfield's mill is as beautiful as a piece of chalk cliff, all worn into furrows by the rain, coated with mosses, and rooted to the ground by a heap of crumbled stone, embroidered with grass and creeping plants. But this is not a serviceable state for a windmill to be in. The essence of a windmill, as distinguished from all other mills, is, that it should turn round, and be a spinning thing, ready always to face the wind; as light, therefore, as possible, and as vibratory; so that it is in nowise good for it to approximate itself to the nature of chalk cliffs.

"Now observe how completely Turner has chosen his mill so as to mark this great fact of windmill nature; how high he has set it; how slenderly he has supported it; how he has built it all of wood; how he has bent the lower planks so as to give the idea of the building lapping over the pivot on which it rests inside; and how, finally, he has insisted on the great leverage of the beam behind it, while Stanfield's lever looks more like a prop than a

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thing to turn the roof with. And he has done all this fearlessly, though none of these elements of form are pleasant ones in themselves, but tend, on the whole, to give a somewhat mean and spider-like look to the principal feature in his picture, and then, finally, because he could not get the windmill dissected, and show us the real heart and centre of the whole, behold, he has put a pair of old millstones, *lying outside*, at the bottom of it. These—the first cause and motive of all the fabric—laid at its foundation; and, beside them, the cart which is to fulfil the end of the fabric's being, and take home the sacks of flour. So far of what each painter chooses to draw. But do not fail to consider the spirit in which it is drawn. Observe, that though all this ruin has befallen Stanfield's mill, Stanfield is not in the least sorry for it. On the contrary, he is delighted, and evidently thinks it is the most fortunate thing possible. The owner is ruined, doubtless, or dead, but his mill forms an admirable object in our view of Brittany. . . . Not so, Turner. *His* mill is still serviceable; but, for all that, he feels somewhat pensive about it. It is a poor property, and evidently the owner of it has enough to do to get his own bread out from between its stones. Moreover, there is a dim type of all melancholy human labour in it—catching the free winds, and setting them to turn grindstones. It is poor work for the winds, and better, indeed, than drowning sailors or tearing down forests, but not their proper work of marshalling the clouds, and bearing the wholesome rains to the place where they are ordered to fall, and fanning the flowers and leaves when they are faint with heat. Turning round a couple of stones, for the mere pulverisation of human food, is not noble work for the winds. So, also, of all low labour to which one sets human souls. It is better than no labour; and, in a still higher degree, better than destructive wandering of imagination; but yet, that grinding in the darkness, for mere food's sake, must be melancholy work enough for many a living creature. All men have felt it so; and this grinding at the mill, whether it be breeze or soul that is set to it, we cannot much rejoice in. Turner has no joy of his mill. It shall be dark against the sky, yet proud, and on the hill-top; not ashamed of its labour, and brightened from beyond, the golden clouds stooping over it, and the calm summer sun, going down behind, far away, to his rest."

It is difficult to think that Turner's picture of the *Windmill and Lock* was not inspired by Rembrandt's well-known *Mill.* The late Mr. Francis Stevenson, how-

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ever, an old collector of the Liber, was told by the son of the Rev. Henry Trimmer, vicar of Heston near Ealing, one of Turner's earliest and most intimate friends, that it was taken direct from a picture by his father, which he showed Mr. Stevenson, and which, the latter told me, was almost exactly similar to Turner's. This however would not preclude Turner's having desired to rival Rembrandt here, as undoubtedly he did in other cases. The Windmill represented formerly stood between Brentford and Hanwell, by the Grand Junction Canal.

(27)

WINDMILL AND LOCK WINDMÜHLE UND SCHLEUSE MOULIN A VENT ET ÉCLUSE

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PL. 28.

JUNCTION OF SEVERN AND WYE. [E. P.]

Published June, 1811, *by J. M. W. Turner, Queen Ann Street West. Drawn, Etched, and Engraved by J. M. W. Turner Esq. R.A.*

Estuary of Severn in distance, with hills beyond. In mid-distance, the Wye winding between high, steep banks and flowing into Severn. On right bank, ruins of castle. View taken from higher foreground, on which, on left, a boy is sitting. Trees on right.

The Etching.

Engraver's Proofs. (*a*) Early; dark all through. Before any lights except on nearest reach of river and in upper sky. *T.* (*b*) Later; lights added all over. Very fine. *S., B.M.* All the foregoing b. a. l.

First Published State. Before any mark in margin.

Second State. A mark resembling a very small capital H about $\frac{1}{4}$ of an inch below right lower angle of plate, and barely visible. No dot in bow of initial letter 'P.' The light clouds in upper sky less defined than in First State. Generally fine, and sometimes little inferior to First State.

Third State. Same mark in margin as Second State. Dot added in bow of initial letter 'P.' Often fairly good.

The Drawing is in the National Gallery.

The Junction of Severn and Wye is one of the most beautiful subjects of the Liber. Fine impressions have a certain *bloom* on them—if I may use the word—which seems to recall the indescribable bright freshness of a June morning, when the increasing warmth of the sun has just—but only just—cleared off the early mists, and, with a clear sky overhead, everything is sparkling with dew.

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This is the first plate of the Liber which Turner engraved as well as etched throughout with his own hand. The heavy hatching or shading lines on the right, are in Mr. Short's opinion, the result of his imperfect knowledge of the use of the mezzotinter's tools. There is also a great deal of aquatint in the sky, notwithstanding that he had so sharply rebuked his engraver for the use of this 'labour-saving' method.[1] Yet as a whole it is an extraordinarily successful piece of mezzotinting. The Etching is very bold and fine, although showing marks of what is technically known as 'foul biting'.

Mr. Stopford Brooke remarks (*Notes on L. S.*, p. 94):

"The drawing itself is more of a composition in the so-called classical style than generally prevails in the Liber Studiorum, but while the manner of the stylists is followed, the matter is closer to natural truth than it would be in the hands of Claude or Gaspar Poussin. The trees are conventional, but they are skilfully arranged to give distance to the Castle and the Severn. But the real interest is in another part of the subject. It is worth while to follow downwards the banks of the stream; to examine how Turner has varied the descending lines of the cliff, while he preserves the unity of its stratification; to mark the way in which the sloping banks on the margin of the river are drawn, so that we have all the facts we need recorded concerning the disintegration of the rocks above, and the deposition of mud by a tidal stream below. . . . By careful artifice of light and dark, of fall and turn of cliff, the windings of the [redacted]

(28)

PL. 29. MARINE DABBLERS. [M]

Published June*, 1811, *by J. M. W. Turner, Queen Ann Street West. Drawn and Etched by J. M. W. Turner Esq. R.A. Engraved by W. Say, Engraver to H.R.H. the Duke of Gloucester.

Boys on seashore sailing toy-boats. A large boat drawn up on shore just beyond them, on left. On right, other fishing-boats being hauled up, the fishermen in the water; sails on horizon.

The Etching.

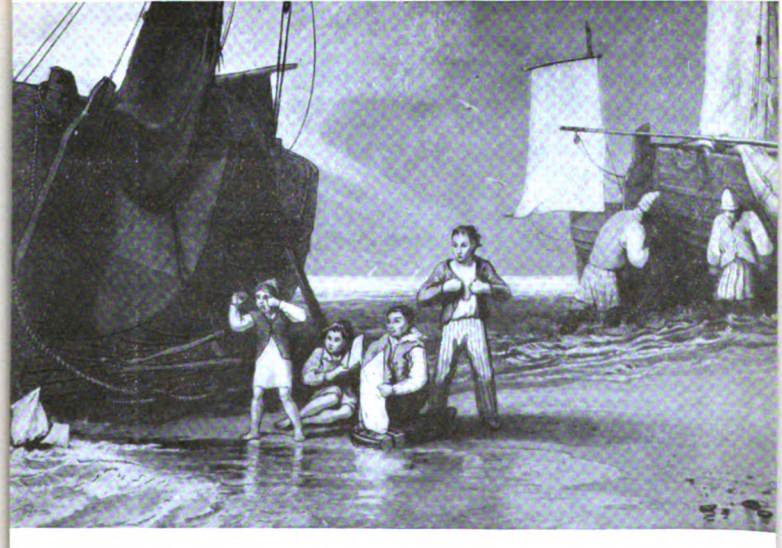
Engraver's Proofs. Nearly completed. B. a. l. *B.*, *R.*

First Published State. Before dot in centre of 'D' of title.

Second State. A dot in 'D' of title.

The Drawing is in the National Gallery.

See remarks with Pls. 17 and 22.



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PL. 30. NEAR BLAIR ATHOL SCOTLAND. [M]

Published June, 1811, *by J. M. W. Turner, Queen Ann Street West. Drawn and Etched by J. M. W. Turner Esq. R.A. Engraved by W. Say, Engraver to H.R.H. the Duke of Gloucester.*

A stream flowing from left between rocky banks, with trees above. In foreground, a wide pool, with man in kilt, fishing.

The Etching.

Engraver's Proofs. (*a*) Before water in foreground was darkened, and before white lights on stream in upper glen. *T.* (*b*) Later, in various stages. Three in *BM.*, two of them touched by Turner. One of these in a darker brown ink is extremely beautiful. All b. a. l.

First Published State. Before mark in margin.

Second State. A mark resembling a capital H in margin below the word 'Duke,' just above plate-mark. No dot in 'O' of 'Athol' in title.

Third Stage. Same mark in margin as in Second State. A dot added in centre of 'O's' of 'Scotland' and 'Athol' in title. The lights suffused and dull throughout and the clearness of the water lost.

The Drawing is in the National Gallery.

Blair Athol is very beautiful both as an Etching and an Engraving. The stream winding down the narrow, rocky glen and brawling over the shallows in front, is very characteristic of Scotland. In fine impressions, the limpid clearness of the water is exquisitely rendered by the mezzotint. In the Etching, a few strokes give marvellously the whole structure and cleavage of the rocks.

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Anglers will appreciate the accurate pose of the fisherman here, who is wading, and throwing his fly, with a high bank and trees behind him. It is an awkward cast and very likely to lead to grief, but a Scotchman should manage it.

Turner was a keen angler, and from his boyhood he never travelled without his fishing-rod. He rarely lost an opportunity of introducing fishermen when he drew a river scene, and even in the latter part of his life, when his figures were usually carelessly drawn, and treated merely as points of light, colour, or composition in a picture, the angler was always an exception, and will be found depicted in some characteristic attitude, which only a fisherman could have understood. A reference to the many river scenes in his *Views in Richmondshire, England and Wales*, and other books illustrated by him, will interest any follower of Isaac Walton.

Mr. Ruskin (*M. P.* vol. i. p. 388) cites this plate with others of the Liber as examples of Turner's truth of tree-drawing. He says:

"There is a peculiar stiffness about the curves of wood, which separates them completely from animal curves, and which especially defies recollection or invention; it is so subtle that it escapes but too often, even in the most patient study from nature; it lies within the thickness of a pencil line. Farther, the modes of ramification of the upper branches are so varied, inventive, and graceful, that the least alteration of them, even the measure of a hair's-breadth, spoils them; and though it is sometimes possible to get rid of a troublesome bough, accidentally awkward, or in some minor respects to assist the arrangement, yet so far as the real branches are copied, the hand libels their lovely curvatures even in its best attempts to follow them.

"These two characters, the woody stiffness hinted through muscular line, and the inventive grace of the upper boughs, have never been rendered except by Turner; he does not merely draw them better than others, but he is the only man who has ever drawn them at all. Of the woody character, the tree subjects of the Liber Studiorum afford marked examples; the Cephalus and Procris, Scene near the Grand Chartreuse, and Blair Athol, Juvenile Tricks, and Hedging and Ditching, may be particularized.

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PL. 31. LAUFFENBOURGH *on the* RHINE. [A]

Published Jany. 1, 1811, by Mr. Turner, Queen Ann Street West. Drawn and Etched by J. M. W. Turner R.A. P.P. Engr

On left, a to with steep roc centre. House left.

The Etching.

Engraver's P houses, riv 'Laffuenbou vanced proo

First Published very heavily

Second State. corner of ma

Third State. M loss of richn the houses, a

Fourth State. S dot in centre c with white sa lights on the effect. Early the States pre

The Drawing is in the National Gallery.

***Lauffenbourgh* is a plate in which I think the engraver**

(30) Near Blair Athol, Scotland — Près Blair Athol, Écosse — Nahe Blair Athol, Schottland

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has not done justice to the Drawing. This is a pleasant picture of a picturesque little old-world German town, with its towers and steep-roofed houses in afternoon sunshine. But the heavy engraving has given a sombre and wholly different effect throughout, and all the gradation in the shadows is lost. Hodgett's other plates in the Liber—*From Spenser's Fairy Queen* and *Ville de Thun*—are equally unsatisfactory.

(31)

LAUFFENBURGH ON THE RHINE — LAUFENBOURG-SUR-LE-RHIN

LAUFENBURG AM RHEIN

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PART VII.

ISSUED JUNE 1, 1811.

PL. 32. YOUNG ANGLERS. [P]

Published June 1, 1811, *by J. M. W. Turner, Queen Ann Street West. Drawn and Etched by J. M. W. Turner. Engraved by R. Dunkarton.*

In foreground, boys on bank of stream, with fishing-rods and pails; their clothes on ground to left. On opposite bank, below a pollard-tree, another boy fishing. On right, pollard-willows and reeds. Houses in distance.

The Etching.

Engraver's Proofs. In various stages. *B.* a. l. *B., R., T.*

First Published State. Before any mark in margin.

Second State. A single vertical stroke in margin, at right lower corner, below 'Dunkarton.' Fine impressions are little inferior to the First State.

Third State. Mark in margin altered to an irregular capital H. The sky darker and heavier. Often fairly good.

The Drawing is in the National Gallery.

The fine drawing of the trunks of the pollard willows here should be noticed. Mr. Ruskin has reproduced this part of the Etching in facsimile (*M. P.* vol. v. fig. 61). Except in the tree studies of Leonardo da Vinci, it would probably be difficult to find the same grasp of the essential characters of a tree-trunk, combined with the same freedom and accuracy in handling. To the plate as a whole, the remarks upon Pls. 17 and 22 also apply.

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PL. 33.

ST. CATHERINE'S HILL NEAR GUILFORD.

[E. P.]

Published June 1811, *by J. M. W. Turner, Queen Ann Street West. Drawn and Etched by J. M. W. Turner Esq. R.A. Engraved by J. C. Easling.*

Road in foreground; on right, open gate of farmyard, through which a team of horses is passing; two men by gate. On left, high trees casting shadows across road down which are coming cows and a woman with milk-pails. In distance a hill on which are ruins of an ancient Chapel.

The Etching.

Engraver's Proofs. (*a*) Before cumulus clouds in sky were made white. Distant hill and ruin very light. *T.* (*b*) Completed, and very brilliant. *R.* Both the above have 'St. Catherine's Hill near Guilford' in scratched letters, in lower margin.

First Published State. Before any mark in margin.

Second State. A single vertical stroke at right lower corner of margin, under 'Easling.' Often fine, and little inferior to the First State.

Third State. Mark in margin altered to an irregular capital H. Still often fairly good, but the light clouds suffer in brilliancy.

The Drawing is in the National Gallery.

St. Catherine's Hill has the effect of a brilliant, showery, summer's day, and seems to me one of the most successful of the less ambitious and more every-day subjects of the Liber. A turnpike road with a hedge on one side and

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a farm-yard on the other, is not very promising material for a picture, even with a ruined chapel in the distance thrown in; but the play of light and shade over the whole scene has given a singularly pleasant result. The drawing of the trees on the left, (specially noticeable in the Etching), and the perspective of the road, are both admirable.

It has been objected that the gate on the right is out of drawing, as if closed, it would not fill more than half the opening between the walls; but probably, as Mr. Stopford Brooke points out, the other half of the gate is supposed to have been swung back, and to be hidden by the wall. To have shown the whole length of the gate would have involved an awkward line, and would have interfered with the admirable composition of the plate.

Another and very different view of Guildford with St. Catherine's Hill, appears in Turner's *England and Wales*.

(33)

St. Catherine's Hill, near Guildford — Colline Ste-Catherine, près Guildford

St-Katharinen-Hügel, nahe Guildford

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PL. 34.

MARTELLO TOWERS NEAR BEXHILL, SUSSEX. [M]

Published June 1811, *by T.* [sic] *M. W. Turner, Queen Ann Street West. Drawn and Etched by J. M. W. Turner Esq. R.A. Engraved by W. Say, Engraver to H.R.H. the Duke of Gloucester.*

In centre, road by sea-shore. Chalk cliffs on right, and line of martello towers beyond; sea on left. In foreground, a group leading an ass with panniers; behind them two hussars on horseback coming up road. In distance, a promontory over which a thunderstorm is breaking.

The Etching.

Engraver's Proofs. (*a*) Dark bars of cloud above nearest martello tower, stretching across to chalk cliff on right. Before the etched work on the rocks on right was covered with mezzotint. *BM.* (*b*) Later, in various stages. *R.*, *T.*, *BM.* All the foregoing have 'Martello Towers near Bex Hill' in scratched letters, in lower margin.

First Published State. Before line of white foam in middle of bay. Upper edge of dark part of thunder-cloud distinctly defined.

Second State. A line of white foam stretches across middle of bay from the shore to within $\frac{1}{8}$ inch of left margin of plate. Dark part of thunder-cloud loses its distinct upper edge, and shades gradually into lighter cloud above. Often fairly good.

Third State. Village (Bexhill) on hill in distance on right has more houses, indicated by white spots. Curve of bank below martello towers, brighter white. Bank in right foreground heavily reworked and darkened.

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The Drawing is in the National Gallery.

The sky in *Bexhill* is the attractive feature. In fine impressions the effect over the promontory, where the storm is breaking heavily, is very striking.

The same subject was repeated exactly by Turner, as a vignette in his *Southern Coast.*

(34)

MARTELLO TOWERS, NEAR BEXHILL, TOURS MARTELLO, PRÈS BEXHILL, SUSSEX

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PL. 35.

INVERARY-PIER. LOCH FYNE. MORNING. [M]

Published June 1, 1811, *by J. M. W. Turner, Queen Ann Street West. Drawn Etched and Engraved by J. M. W. Turner R.A.*

Loch Fyne in front, stretching across from right, and shut in by mountains in distance. Several boats on farther shore below mountains. On left, wooded hills sloping down to beach. In left foreground, a pier, boats, and fishermen. In front, a fluke of an anchor showing in the shallow water, and a buoy on right.

The First Etching. Before the buoy on the right. The shadows of the boat on the left, and of the anchor, incomplete. *T.*

The Second Etching. (Apparently on a new copper.) Buoy on right added. Shadows mentioned above continued to margin of plate. More work on wall and foreground.

Engraver's Proofs. (*a*) Early; sky, water and hills only commenced; one boat only on further shore. B. a. l. *R.*, *BM.* (*b*) A second boat on further shore, lightly drawn in in white, to left of first. Before bird flying over water. In lower margin, 'Iverary Pier' [*sic*] in scratched capitals and above it, close to plate line, 'Drawn, Etched, and Engraved by J. M. W. Turner R.A.' *T.* (*c*) Second boat completed, with white sail. Before bird, and before small white reflection under wooded hill on left. Lettering as First Pub. State. *R.*, *T.* (*d*) Small reflection on left added. Before bird. *T.*, *BM.* (*e*) Boat with two white sails added on right of first two boats. Sail on left changed from white to dark. Before bird. *T.*

First Published State. Three sailing boats on further edge of

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Loch. A seagull on right flying over water. Sky beginning to show signs of wear. Before any mark in margin.

Second State. A faint mark resembling a small arrow-head at right lower corner in margin. Reflection of gull, and many other long light lines added on surface of water. The sky hard and showing signs of wear. Effect of mists on distant mountains much impaired. Rare.

1-10-0 *Third State.* Mark in margin altered to an irregular capital H. Still more worn throughout.

Fourth State. Re-mezzotinted all over, and effect greatly changed. Water very dark. The bird and its reflection removed. Sky with hard patchy clouds. The mountain contours entirely altered—a perpendicular line, about an inch from the peak downwards, now divides the principal summit into a light and a dark portion; new work added on the extreme right ridge, and on the lower flank of the same mountain. In early impressions this State is very interesting, its effect being so totally different from the earlier stages. But the added mezzotint soon wore away and the later impressions are very dull and flat.

I know of no sepia Drawing for this plate, but there is a large Drawing of the subject in colours, among the Turner Sketches in the National Gallery.

Loch Fyne, from first to last Turner's own engraving, has always ranked as one of the most beautiful plates of the Liber. Composition, light, water, mountains, and sky, are alike enchanting. But their perfection was, alas, a rapidly fading one; the delicate mezzotinting, like most of Turner's own, was nearly as evanescent as those mists on the mountains which it rendered. After comparatively few impressions had been taken, much of the charm of the aërial effect was lost. The sky gets a hard scratchy look; the outlines of cloud and mountain, and the rich depth of the woods all suffer. Finally Turner re-mezzotinted the plate all over, darkening and greatly

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altering it, and giving it the effect of a much earlier hour of the morning. Early impressions of this, the latest State, curiously resemble some of the first Trial Proofs. But whilst the plate is still fine, it does not approach the beauty of the late Engraver's Proofs.

Mr. Hamerton (*Etching and Etchers*, 1st Ed., p. 88) writes of this plate:

"This view of Inverary shows as well as anything in the 'Liber Studiorum,' what sort of duty Turner intended his coarse etched lines to do. The combination of etching with mezzotint was a marriage of two opposite arts. Turner, therefore, avoided in his work with the needle every kind of labour which might intrude upon the domain of mezzotint; he even did more than this, and purposely sought in every etched line a quality the very opposite of that softness and tenderness of tint which became his chief objects when he took up the tools of the engraver. The striking contrast between methods of work in this plate is focussed in the very centre of it. The pale mountain towards Glen Falloch is engraved with aërial delicacy, the morning shadows fall in soft gradations from the risen wreaths of mist, and against the very tenderest passage of all, the opening of the distant glen, comes the stiff mast and coarse sail of a fishing-boat, of the firmest and boldest execution. The heavily etched anchor rising out of the shallow water in the foreground sets its iron rigidity, by a similar contrast of method, against the soft and liquid surface. To the left this coarseness loses itself more gradually in greater manual refinement, and the transition from the dark boat under the pier to the far trees on the edge of the wooded hill, is managed by a subtle blending of lighter and shallower bitings with rich full shades of mezzotint."

Mr. Wedmore (*Studies in English Art*, p. 184) says of the Etching:

"The pure etching of this subject . . . is very specially noteworthy: never in so few lines—no, not I think even in the *Goldweigher's Field* or *Six's Bridge* of Rembrandt, the lightest of his landscapes, and therefore the most fairly to be compared with this—never in so few lines has so much of air and space, and the stillness of water and the grace of landscape form, been so potently indicated. And it is very noteworthy, that just as the great Dutch master gives the sense of a serene breadth of sky (as in the *Cottage*

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and Dutch Hay-barn) not by working, but by omitting to work, so does Turner in his outline etching of *Inverary Pier* give, by pure omission, the sense of the stillness of water. The introduction of the anchor, breaking the dead level, is an instance, to all who see it, of his supremest skill."

A small, very hard, topographical view of Inverary was engraved by Heath in 1805 from a drawing by Turner for *Mawman's Excursion to the Highlands of Scotland.* He also made several large coloured drawings of Inverary, and it was the subject of another plate (Pl. 65) of the Liber.

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PL. 36. FROM SPENSER'S FAIRY QUEEN. [H]

Published June 1st, 1811, *by J. M. W. Turner, Queen Ann Street West. Drawn and Etched by J. M. W. Turner Esq. R.A. Engraved by T. Hodgetts.*

On plateau of rock in left foreground surrounded by high, rocky hills, a knight sitting, his head resting on his shield and a sword in his hand; armour beside him. Two high, bare trees above, with large birds flying towards and perching on them. Morning light breaking.

The Etching.

Engraver's Proofs. Before edges of cloud lightened. B. a. l. *R.*

First Published State. Before any mark in margin.

Second State. A single vertical stroke at right lower corner of margin, under 'Hodgetts.' Often little inferior to the First State.

Third State. Mark in margin altered to an irregular capital H. Shield, trunks of trees, and other parts lightened. Often fairly good.

The Drawing is in the National Gallery (Vaughan bequest).

Mr. Stopford Brooke (*Notes on L. S.*, p. 117) quotes the passage from the first book of the 'Faery Queen,' which he considers was in Turner's mind here.

This plate, which has always seemed to me one of the least attractive of the Liber, has been thought to show a rivalry with Salvator Rosa. The engraving, like all of Hodgett's work, is heavy and unintelligent.

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PART VIII.

ISSUED FEBRUARY 1, 1812.

PL. 37. WATER-MILL. [P]

Published February 1, 1812, *by J. M. W. Turner, Queen Ann Street West. Drawn and Etched by J. M. W. Turner. Engraved by R. Dunkarton.*

A water-mill, its gable in full front, with mill-wheel on right, and cow-shed at back; mill-stone leaning against wall. In right foreground, two horses drinking and a dog opposite. On left, a woman is descending steps carrying sheaves. Mill-dam, with trees beyond, in distance.

The Etching.

Engraver's Proofs. (*a*) Dog added in etched outline but without shading; before etched outlines of trees on right. Before joints of stone steps taken out white. *B.*, *H.*, *R.* (*b*) Later; etched shading added on dog, and outlines of trees on right etched; both over the mezzotint. *T.* All the foregoing b. a. l.

First Published State. Before any mark in margin.

Second State. Mark resembling a capital A in left lower corner of margin. Often fairly good.

Third State. Same mark in margin. Sky reworked and darkened.

The Drawing is in the National Gallery.

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PL. 38. *SCENE IN THE CAMPAGNA.*

(Usually known as 'WOMAN AT A TANK,' and also called 'HINDOO ABLUTIONS.') [E. P.]

Published February 1, 1812, *by J. M. W. Turner, Queen Ann Street West. Drawn and Etched by J. M. W. Turner. Engraved by W. Say, Engraver to H.R.H. the Duke of Gloucester.*

In foreground, a tall stone-pine; below it, a woman half naked stooping over a tank. On right, river flowing past bank of trees and under bridge in centre. On left, row of trees, and two figures tending sheep. In distance, ruins of temples and buildings; hills beyond.

The Etching. First State. Before line of distant hills on horizon.

The Etching. Second State. A line of distant hills on horizon.

Engraver's Proofs. (*a*) The lowest branches on tree-trunk on left are light, and light is carried up the trunk above them. *BM.* (*b*) Branches and trunk darkened. *R.* Both b. a. l.

First Published State. Before any mark in margin.

Second State. A mark resembling a broad capital A at left lower corner of margin. Often little inferior to First State.

Third State. Same mark as Second State. The lights on the back of the woman, and on the edges of the tank, a much brighter white than in preceding States. The dark parts all richly re-mezzotinted. Early impressions of this State are extremely fine, and have a solemn, impressive effect.

The Drawing is in the National Gallery.

This, which is really a classical subject, was left by Turner without a title, and has hitherto borne the un-

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pleasing names which I have ventured to alter. It is no doubt, as Mr. Stopford Brooke points out, an ideal scene in the Campagna, and Turner has endeavoured to rival Claude on his own ground. The plate is beautiful both as Etching and Engraving. The great stone-pine, magnificently drawn, contrasts well with the slender trees opposite it, and the solemn afterglow of the South pervades the whole scene. The mezzotinting, like all William Say's work, wore extremely well. The Third State is especially attractive in the early impressions, and even the late ones are good.

Mr. Ruskin (*Elements of Drawing*, p. 134, note) ranks the Etching as one of the five finest of the published plates of the Liber.

(38)

SCENE IN THE CAMPAGNA — SCÈNE DANS LA CAMPAGNE DE ROME — SZENE IN DER CAMPAGNA

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PL. 39. *CRYPT OF KIRKSTALL ABBEY.*

Original Drawing in the possession of John Soane Esq. R.A. Professor of Architecture. 23 *In*^{s} *by* 36 *In*^{s}. [A]

Published February 11, 1812, *by J. M. W. Turner, Queen Ann Street West. Drawn Etched and Engraved by J. M. W. Turner Esq. R.A. P.P.*

A crypt with round Norman pillars and vaulted roof. On left, light streams through an opening, upon a group of cows lying and standing round a pillar. Through another opening, trees and fields seen. A pool of water in right foreground.

The Etching.

Engraver's Proofs. Before ray of light through opening on left, and before line of light down left side of pillar on right. Reflected light on roof much more evenly diffused than in finished States, and the whole effect more luminous. B. a. l. *R.*

First Published State. Before any mark in margin. Through the open doorway, only two trees seen in the distance. The light and shade on the pillar on the right sharply defined. Bright light enters through opening on left; one ray very distinct. Rare.

Second State. A mark resembling a capital A in left lower corner of margin. Much of the reflected light on walls, arches, pillars, and roof, lost. Pillar on right softer and more rounded. Light entering on left much subdued and no distinct ray visible. Through doorway, a row of distant trees, seen indistinctly. Sometimes fine, but always much less luminous than the First State.

Third State. Same mark in margin as Second State. Retouched throughout. Roof almost uniformly dark in tone

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the reflected light on it nearly lost. Through doorway distant trees are an almost undefined mass. Very dull.

Fourth State. Same mark in margin. Heavily re-mezzotinted all over and completely altered. Bright effect of rays from left entirely lost. No reflected light on roof or building. Whole plate extremely dark and dull.

The sepia Drawing is in the National Gallery. The large Drawing from which it was taken is in the Soane Museum.

Kirkstall was a favourite subject with Turner. He painted it often, and it was finely engraved in line as an illustration to Britton's *Architectural Antiquities.* Its utter ruin and neglect—the crypt occupied at their will by cattle—seem to have specially impressed him; he always draws the cattle there. Mr. Ruskin, in his chapter on 'The Two Boyhoods' at the end of his description of Turner's first visit to Yorkshire (*M. P.*, vol. v. p. 298), thus writes with his inimitable touch:

"Beauty and freedom and peace; and yet another teacher graver than these. Sound preaching at last here, in Kirkstall crypt, concerning fate and life. Here, where the dark pool reflects the chancel pillars, and the cattle lie in an unhindered rest, the soft sunshine on their dappled bodies, instead of priest's vestments; their white furry hair, ruffled a little, fitfully by the evening wind, deep scented from the meadow thyme."

Kirstall was from first to last Turner's own engraving, and it shows his curious experiments with the roulette (a tool employed by mezzotint engravers to roughen the surface of the copper); this he has used in patches, apparently to heighten the effect.

The masterly architectural drawing is conspicuous, especially in the Etching. Notice the beauty and precision with which the Norman 'cushion' capitals, the lines of the arches, and the springing of the vaulting shafts are rendered. In the Engraving, the bold chiaroscuro and the luminousness of the reflected light on the walls,

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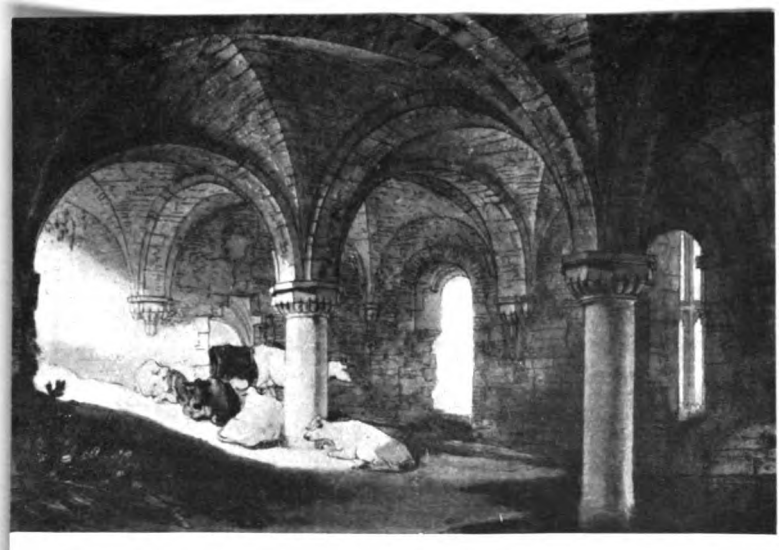
arches, and roof are no less striking. It is, however, only in the Engraver's Proofs and the earliest impressions of the First State that the beauty of the plate can be truly seen. The mezzotinting stood rather better than in some of the other plates of Turner's own engraving, but, as in *Loch Fyne* (Pl. 35), the whole plate had soon to be reworked, resulting in the dismal impressions of the Fourth State.



(39)

CRYPT OF KIRKSTALL ABBEY CRYPTE DE L'ABBAYE DE KIRKSTALL
KRYPTA DER ABTEI ZU KIRKSTALL

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PL. 40.

PICTURE IN THE POSSESSION OF SIR JOHN MILDMAY, BART. 3 *Feet by* 4 *Feet.* [M]

(Usually known as the 'MILDMAY SEA-PIECE.')

Published February 11, 1812, *by J. M. W. Turner, Queen Ann Street West. Drawn and Etched by J. M. W. Turner. Engraved by W. Annis and J. C. Easling.*

Sun setting over sea, on which are two fishing-boats; the left one distant and in shadow. In front, on left, fishermen standing by boat on shore; casks and timbers behind; on right, woman and boy; behind them an anchor.

The Etching. First State. Before the men in boat on right.

The Etching. Second State. Men added in the boat.

Engraver's Proofs. (*a*) Sea not completed, and boat in left distance not made out. Sails on right not defined. *BM.* (*b*) Further advanced, but before rays striking upwards from sun were made quite white. Clouds around and above sun less defined than afterwards. Before reflection on beach was prolonged to plate-line. Broader and more serene in effect than the Pub. States, and extremely beautiful. *T.* Both the foregoing b. a. l.

First Published State. Before any mark in margin. No light on sails of distant boat.

Second State. A mark resembling a capital A at left lower corner of margin. A light on the left sail of distant boat. Light horizontal bars of cloud added in the space above the sun, just where the rays vanish.

Third State. Same mark in margin. Shadow of boy running, darkened and lengthened considerably, reaching now to

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lower margin. Shadow from boat on shore on left also darkened and lengthened.

Fourth State. Same mark in margin. The ground of the sky reworked throughout, and darker and duller in effect.

I know of no Drawing for this plate, nor where the oil Picture now is.

The Mildmay Sea-Piece is a beautiful study of a calm sea and sunset sky. The early Engraver's Proofs especially are singularly broad and simple in effect. The Etching, although slight and very lightly-bitten, shows a master's hand in its exquisite rendering of the lines of the small rippling waves. Observe also how the distant boat on the left lifts with the sea, and how skilfully its course is indicated by just three lines in its wake. The etching of the casks in the foreground is probably the work of the engraver, added under Turner's directions.

Mr. Frank Short has pointed out to me how finely the mezzotint ground of the sky is executed; the same is also the case in Annis's only other plate—*River Wye*, Pl. 48.

(40)

THE MILDMAY SEA-PIECE — LA MARINE DITE "DE MILDMAY"

DAS MILDMAY'SCHE SEESTÜCK

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PL. 41. PROCRIS AND CEPHALUS. [H]

Published February 14, 1812, *by J. M. W. Turner, Queen Ann Street West. Drawn and Etched by J. M. W. Turner. Engraved by G. Clint.*

In front a wide path through a wood, the branches of the trees meeting overhead. In left foreground, Procris with an arrow in her breast, supported in the arms of Cephalus; two dogs behind him. On right, an open glade, with the sun's faint rays coming from right.

The Etching.

Engraver's Proofs. Finished Proof. B. a. l. *R.*

First Published State. Before any mark in margin.

Second State. A mark resembling a capital A at left lower corner of margin. Sometimes extremely fine, and then perhaps preferable to the frequently heavily-printed impressions of the First State.

Third State. Same mark as Second State. Reworked throughout, but still good in early impressions.

The Drawing is in the National Gallery.

The beauty of the woodland glades in *Procris and Cephalus* must strike everyone. Like almost all the similar subjects of the Liber—*Æsacus and Hesperie* (Pl. 66), *Huntsman in a Wood* (Pl. 96, Unpub.), and others—it was founded on studies made in the woods round Farnley Hall.

Mr. Ruskin considers that this plate, along with four or five others, shows the influence of Titian on Turner. He further writes of it (*M. P.*, vol. ii. p. 155) as typical of Turner's imaginative power controlling his composition:

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"But for immediate and close illustration, it is perhaps best to refer to a work more accessible, the Cephalus and Procris of Turner in the Liber Studiorum. I know of no landscape more purely or magnificently imaginative, or bearing more distinct evidence of the relative and simultaneous conception of the parts. Let the reader first cover with his hand the two trunks that rise against the sky on the right, and ask himself how any termination of the central mass so *ugly* as the straight trunk which he will then painfully see, could have been conceived or admitted without *simultaneous conception* of the trunks he has taken away on the right? Let him again conceal the whole central mass, and leave these two only, and again ask himself whether anything so ugly as that bare trunk in the shape of a Y, could have been admitted without reference to the central mass? Then let him remove from this trunk its two arms, and try the effect; let him again remove the single trunk on the extreme right; then let him try the third trunk without the excrescence at the bottom of it; finally let him conceal the fourth trunk from the right, with the slender boughs at the top: he will find in each case, that he has destroyed a feature on which everything else depends; and if proof be required of the vital power of still smaller features, let him remove the sunbeam that comes through beneath the faint mass of trees on the hill in the distance."

And again (p. 201):

"I suppose few in looking at the Cephalus and Procris of Turner, note the sympathy of those faint rays that are just drawing back and dying between the trunks of the far-off forest, with the ebbing life of the nymph, unless, indeed, they happen to recollect the same sympathy marked by Shelley in the Alastor."

Mr. Stopford Brooke, also writing of the composition, points out (*Notes on L. S.*, pp. 134, 135):

"The slant upwards of the trees on the right of the glade—lest it should be monotonous, or the artifice of the arch be too soon felt,—is opposed by several trees whose trunks and branches lean the opposite way. This is most apparent in the nearest of all the trees, the stem of which, as it were in violent opposition, stretches away at a sharp angle to the right. Its absence would spoil the composition; and the angle it forms with its companion throws into distance the grassy hill behind, as the double angle of the second tree makes the eye feel how far the sky retreats.

"The composition of the figures and dogs is repeated by the

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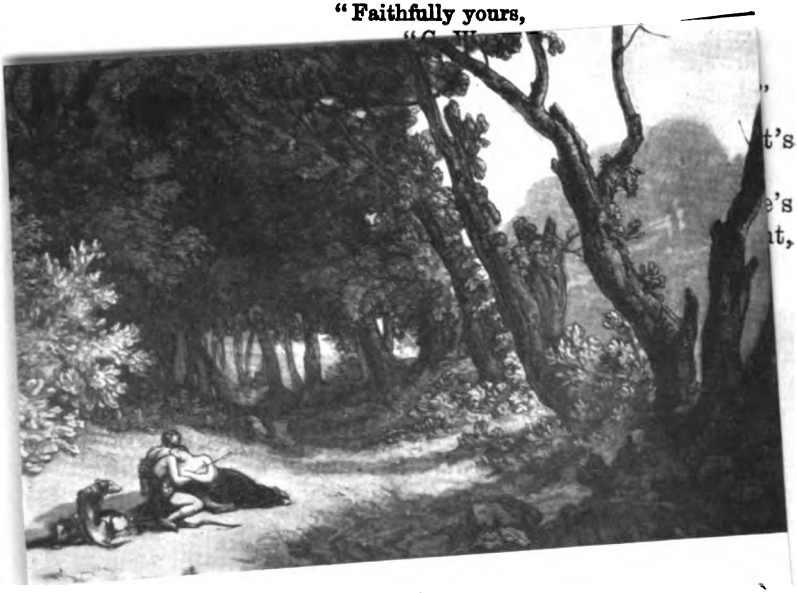
outline of the bank above them, and indeed by the outline of the whole composition of the woodland—even to the arrow in the breast of Procris which slopes to the right with the same intention as the slant of the tree. The dogs again repeat, with sufficient change, the lines of the composition of the figures; and the shadow that stretches behind them binds them into one with the figures. . . ."

Mr. Brooke also prints the following interesting letter respecting this plate. I entirely concur with the writer's view:

"Dear Sir,

"Will you kindly forgive my asking, with reference to your note on the 'Procris and Cephalus,' whether there is anything that makes it necesssary for us to regard the scene as a sunset? Mr. Ruskin, like you, regards the light as fading. But if that is Turner's meaning, does he not miss the point of the story, which turns entirely on the rivalry of Procris with Aurora? It was jealousy of the rosy-fingered goddess that brought Procris to the spot, and it would be a curious infelicity to represent her as having come in the evening. I cannot help thinking, though anyone may well hesitate to differ from Mr. Ruskin, that Turner meant to represent the dawn. Nor do I think he fails. The shaft of light that pierces the distant trees seems to me to be aimed at Procris, and to terminate, as it were, in the fatal arrow. Nor does the print as thus interpreted seem to me to lose any of its impressiveness. To my mind the tragedy is all the deeper when seen relieved against the freshness and innocent brightness of dawn.

"Faithfully yours,



(41)

Procris and Cephalus — Prokris und Cephalus — Procris et Céphale

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PART IX.

ISSUED APRIL 23, 1812.

PL. 42. WINCHELSEA, SUSSEX. [P]

Published April 23, 1812, *by J. M. W. Turner, Queen Ann Street West. Drawn and Etched by J. M. W. Turner. Engraved by J. C. Easling.*

In front, road under steep bank covered with trees, descends sharply on right to level country stretching beyond. Men driving a flock of sheep down road. In left foreground, soldier with knapsack and musket talking to woman with child in her arms, and boy beside her. Above them, on left, round tower among trees.

The Etching.

Engraver's Proofs. I have never seen an Engraver's Proof of this plate.

First Published State. Before any mark in margin.

Second State. A single diagonal stroke in left lower corner of margin. Fine.

Third State. Mark in margin altered to capital A. Early impressions are still good.

Fourth State. Same mark as Third State. Reworked throughout.

The Drawing is in the National Gallery.

Winchelsea seems full of sharp contrasts. The steep hill is thrown directly against the perfectly level plain; the dark woods against the light gleam in the sky; the thick foliage on the left against the bare tree on the right. The soldier also contrasts with the shepherd, and his musket with the boy's plaything, a kite. Turner delighted in such contrasts in his pictures.

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He would seem to have had some early association connecting Winchelsea with soldiers; in the view of it in his *England and Wales* a regiment is marching up the hill, and in a charming little drawing—probably intended for his *Views in Sussex*, but carried no further than the preliminary etching—there is again a regiment with baggage waggons, streaming along the road over the marshes, up to the town.

(42)
WINCHELSEA, SUSSEX

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PL. 43. *THE BRIDGE AND GOATS.* [E. P.]

Published April 23, 1812, *by J. M. W. Turner, Queen Ann Street West. Drawn and Etched by J. M. W. Turner R.A. Engraved by F. C. Lewis.*

In foreground, walled bridge, over which men are driving flock of goats to right; trees on right of bridge. Beyond, on left, buildings, and bridge of three arches crossing valley. Hills and wide expanse of country in distance.

The Etching.

Engraver's Proofs. (*a*) Early; before sky made out and distances defined. Very light throughout, except trees on right. *T.*, *BM.* (*b*) Sky completed and very luminous. Foreground and distances nearly finished, but before white light along parapet of bridge in foreground. Very beautiful, and different in effect from the succeeding impressions. *T.* All the foregoing b. a. l. (*c*) Nearly completed. Artists' names and initial letters in scratched writing. *C.*

First Published State. Before any mark in margin. Sun distinctly white against sky.

Second State. The first stroke of a capital A at left lower corner in margin. Sun no longer distinct, the space round it having become of the same tone, from wear of plate.

Third State. Mark in margin completed to capital A. Before dot in bow of initial letter (P). Still more worn throughout.

Fourth State. Same mark in margin as Third State; a dot in bow of 'P.' Sky reworked, and sun again light against it. Light clouds and rays added round sun, and a light space on horizon below it. The impressions of this State have the same grey tone to which I have already called attention in *Dunstanborough* (Pl. 14), the sky of which is

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also in aquatint. Possibly this is caused by some chemical action of the aquatint ground on the ink.

The Drawing is in the National Gallery. It is slighter, and much more in the manner of Claude's *Liber Veritatis* than any of the others. Probably this arises from its having been the first made by Turner, when he would have had the *Liber Veritatis* specially in view as his model for the Liber Studiorum. In the same place is also an impression of the Etching, coloured in sepia as a guide for the engraver. (See Appendix A, Letter No. 3.)

The Bridge and Goats, like *The Woman and Tambourine* (Pl. 3), *Apuleia in search of Apuleius* (Pl. 72), and several other Liber plates, is clearly suggested by, if not borrowed from, the *Liber Veritatis* of Claude, in which many such subjects are to be found. It was to have been the first plate of the Liber,[1] had the arrangement with F. C. Lewis, to which I have alluded in the Introduction, been carried out. But the inferiority of aquatint to mezzotint as a method of landscape engraving, must be apparent to everyone here, although Turner at the time expressed himself to Lewis as satisfied.

The Bridge and Goats is however far from being an unattractive plate. The Engraver's Proofs at one stage (*b*) are especially beautiful, and although aquatint fails ever to reach the richness and brilliancy of mezzotint, yet it would appear to have the advantage of yielding a larger number of good impressions. Even the latest States have not the utter bareness of mezzotint plates at the same stage.

[1] Mr. C. F. Bell, in "The Studio" (Winter Number, 1903), throws doubt upon the accuracy of the hitherto unquestioned statement that this plate was the first of the Liber to be engraved. He founds a very ingenious argument on the apparent discrepancies between the dates on some of the early plates as compared with the *undated* letters of Turner to Lewis on the subject which are printed in Appendix A (Letters 2 and 3). The dates of these he endeavours to fix by means of what seem to me somewhat questionable inferences, drawn from

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certain slight allusions in the letters to external matters. In my opinion, however, he does not succeed in shaking the old tradition. The dates on some of the earlier Liber plates are certainly puzzling, but anyone familiar with the engravings of this period knows how little the dates on prints of that time can be relied upon, as they were constantly erased, added, or altered, to suit the requirements of publishers. Turner, too, was never an accurate man in such matters, a large proportion of his letters being undated. But apart from this, is it likely that collectors like Mr. Stokes (who bought direct from Turner or his agent Griffiths), and dealers like Halsted, who knew Lewis, Charles Turner and all the Liber engravers, would have handed on such an important statement if it were incorrect? Lastly, would Lewis himself, in 1850, have ventured to write as he does (Letter No. 5, Appendix A), when not only Turner himself, but Charles Turner and the other Liber engravers were all living and able to refute him? If further proof is needed, I think it will be found in the sepia Drawing of the plate, now in the National Gallery. It will be seen that this is entirely different in style from the other Liber Drawings, *but closely resembles the engravings of Claude's 'Liber Veritatis,'* which Turner had undoubtedly in his mind at the inception of the Liber Studiorum.

It is just possible that Turner may have gone first of all to John Girtin, the aquatint engraver, as I have suggested as the explanation of Letter No. 1, in Appendix A; but if he did, Girtin's work must have failed to satisfy him. In any case this is outside Mr. Bell's argument, which is based only on the apparent discrepancies in the dates. These I think probably arose from some inaccuracy on the part of the 'writing engraver,' or in the instructions given him.

(43)

THE BRIDGE AND GOATS — LE PONT ET LES CHÈVRES

DIE BRÜCKE UND DIE ZIEGEN

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PL. 44. CALM. *Picture in the possession of J. M. W. Turner.* 1 F^{t}. 2 by 2 F^{t}. 3 [M]

Published April 23, 1812, *by J. M. W. Turner, Queen Ann Street West. Drawn, Etched and Engraved by J. M. W. Turner.*

Many fishing-boats becalmed, with sails hoisted. A row-boat with five men, in front on right. On extreme right, two men on shore with nets. In distance, on left, a full-rigged ship; many birds in sky.

The Calm was from first to last the work of Turner's own hand, and appears to have been the subject of several experiments by him in engraving, as follows:

Engraver's Proofs. (*a*) Soft-ground etching throughout. *T.* (*b*) Light aquatint added all over, but effect very similar to the last. *BM.* (*c*) More and darker aquatint added. Reflections of men in rowing-boat thrown white on water (these reflections were afterwards removed). *R.* The plate is very beautiful in all these early stages.

(*d*) Mezzotint added all over. Sky very dark. Before any etched lines bitten-in on sails and rigging. *T.* (*e*) Sky cleared all through; break of light added on left. Before any etched lines. *B.M.* (*f*) More mezzotint added all over, and etched lines bitten-in on sails, rigging, and hulls of boats. Very deeply-bitten etched work added on men in rowing-boat, and their white reflections removed. The small sailing-boat in distance drawn in in pencil. *R.* (*g*) Advanced all through. Before scratches in sky (from 'foul biting') were turned into birds. *T.* All the foregoing, b. a. l. (*h*) Nearly completed, but before scratches in sky and on water below stern of boat on left, were turned into birds. Bright white lights on shore on right, and on sails and flags. Lettering as in First Pub. State. *R.*, *BM.*

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First Published State. Scratches in sky turned into sea-gulls. Before any mark in margin. No lights on men on shore on right, and no light reflections of them in water. Rare.

Second State. The first stroke of a capital A at left lower corner of margin. Fine, and nearly equal to the First State. Rare.

Third State. Mark completed to capital A. Sky worn and whole plate fainter throughout. The reflection of one of the men on shore on right, thrown white on water.

Fourth State. Same mark in margin. Much altered in effect. Sky paler; hardly any traces of light upper clouds visible, but a few very small and faint patches of darker cloud added at top. Several white stripes added down large light sail in centre, broad sail with the flag almost wholly white, and many of the other sails whiter. Printed in a richer and more golden tone of ink. Usually considered the finest of the Published States of the plate.

Fifth State. Same mark in margin. Heavily reworked throughout. Dull, heavy patches of cloud added all over sky, apparently in aquatint. Distant white sail on right, just over head of man steering row-boat, removed. Men on shore dark, with dark reflections. Very dull in effect.

Sixth State. A dot added in curve of letter 'C' of 'Calm.'

I know of no Drawing for this plate, nor where the oil Picture now is. The latter was sold at Christie's in 1875.

The Calm—Turner's own engraving throughout—is a beautiful plate at two widely-separated stages of its career. The early Proofs in soft-ground etching, (*a*), (*b*), and (*c*), are singularly attractive and in effect unlike any other plates of the Liber. With the addition of mezzotint, the plate becomes somewhat heavy, and from Proof (*d*), on through the First Pub. State to the Third State, it is less interesting. But here there is a sudden transformation. The mezzotint had worn dull and thin, and Turner took the plate in hand, re-touched it here, burnished it there,

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added a few clouds in the upper sky and broad bands of white down several of the sails, printed it in a warm, golden brown, and—hey presto!—the Fourth State[1] is another picture, hardly to be recognized beside the more prosaic First, Second, and Third States.

There is little doubt that *The Calm* was intended to be in rivalry with Cuyp, W. Vandevelde the Younger, or with that prince of all the Dutch sea-painters—Van de Capelle—or perhaps with all three.

Mr. Wedmore (*Studies in English Art*, p. 185) writes of the plate as "a composition in which the mezzotinter has given, and especially to the later States of the plate, a colour and a sunniness that may recall, as you are minded, the lagoon of Venice or the afternoon coasts of Holland, or that old 'Yarmouth Water Frolic,' with whose glowing splendours a Norwich landscapist surprised us at Burlington House."

Mr. Hamerton's remarks on the plate (*Etching and Etchers*, 1st Ed., p. 90) will also be read with interest.

The birds in the sky and over the water, were all added to conceal marks accidentally made in biting-in the Etching. Turner had recourse to the same device in the *Mer de Glace* (Pl. 50) and other Liber plates.

[1] In the first edition of this Catalogue this State was described as the Third. It had been previously known as the Fifth. The fact is, the differences in the earlier States are so numerous, yet so minute, that it is extremely difficult to settle the [illegible]

(44)

CALM MEERESSTILLE CALME

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PL. 45. PEAT BOG, SCOTLAND. [M]

Published April 23, 1812, *by J. M. W. Turner, Queen Ann Street West. Drawn and Etched by J. M. W. Turner Esq. R.A. Engraved by G. Clint.*

A morass in centre in deep shadow, surrounded by mountains; on right edge, smoke from a fire. In front, men cutting turf. Heavy rain-clouds over sky, with two rainbows on right.

The Etching.

Engraver's Proofs. (*a*) Early; before rainbows, which are here scraped out by Turner. *R.* (*b*) Rainbows added. Very dark and fine in effect. *T.* (*c*) Sky more worked on and clouds defined. Before the spot of bright white at base of smoke. *BM.* (*d*) Later; base of smoke and reflection in bog, bright white. *BM.* (*e*) Nearly completed; printed in a pleasant warm brown ink. Very fine. *B.* All the above have 'Peat Bog Scot^d^,' in scratched letters in lower margin.

First Published State. Before any mark in margin. Light of fire on right reflected in bog. Rare.

Second State. The first stroke of a capital A at left lower corner of margin. Fire still reflected in bog. Rare.

Third State. Same mark in margin. Fire no longer reflected in bog.

Fourth State. Mark in margin completed to a capital A. No reflection of fire. The sky usually much duller than in the preceding States.

Fifth State. Same mark in margin as in the Fourth State. A dot added in centre of the 'O' of 'Bog' in title. Worn and altogether inferior. 2-2-c

The Drawing is in the National Gallery.

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Peat Bog has always ranked among the great plates of the Liber. It is throughout eminently Turnerian. No influence of any other master, no reminiscences or traditions of any earlier school, are to be traced in it. The painter has gone straight to nature, and with a master's hand has given us a picture of one of those days of driving wind and storm, when the moorland—which perhaps only yesterday was breezy and sunny—is cold, dark, and desolate beyond words. It is in the rendering of these rapidly-changing effects of wind and weather, rain and sunshine, calm and tempest, that Turner is alike without a predecessor and without a rival, and probably no other of all his great powers gives a greater distinction and attractiveness to his work.

Notice the thick array of heavy clouds, the downpour of the rain, the gloom over the bog, the gradually clearing sky across which the rainbow is breaking—the wet mists clinging to the hills and veiling their forms even after the rain has left them.

The Etching is very forcible. The Engraving was well executed, as was the case with all Clint's plates. Finer mezzotint work than that of the sky would be impossible; but it was of necessity so delicate that it can only adequately be seen in early impressions.

(45)

PEAT BOG, SCOTLAND TORFBRUCH, SCHOTTLAND TOURBIÈRE, ÉCOSSE

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PL. 46.

RISPAH. *2nd Book of Samuel, Chap.* 21. [H]

Published April 23, 1812, *by J. M. W. Turner, Queen Ann Street West. Drawn and Etched by J. M. W. Turner Esq. R.A. Engraved by R. Dunkarton.*

The figure of Rizpah in centre, sitting with lighted torch in her outstretched arm. Around her the dead bodies of her sons. Beyond, to right, a wild beast approaching; a bird flying over pool in right foreground. Sheaves and standing barley on hill to right. Trees to left. New moon in sky.

The Etching.

Engraver's Proofs. (*a*) Early; drawn upon all over by Turner. The moon and stars scraped out white. *R.* (*b*) Moon defined, but again scraped out larger by Turner. *T.* (*c*) Nearly finished. *BM.* All the foregoing b. a. l.

First Published State. Before any mark in margin. Often very heavily charged with ink in the printing.

Second State. The first stroke of a capital A at left lower corner of margin. Fine and rare.

Third State. Mark in margin completed to a capital A. Early impressions are fine.

Fourth State. Same mark as in Third State. A dot added in bow of 'P' of 'Rispah' in title. Reworked and very dull.

The Drawing is in the National Gallery (Vaughan bequest).

Of the few tragic subjects of the Liber, *Rizpah* seems to me the only one which is entirely successful. Tragedy is doubtless always a perilous task for art, but here, even admitting some possible faults in drawing, there is real

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pathos and genuine horror, instead of the usual alternatives of weak melodrama or ludicrous failure. The weariness and the patience of a ceaseless watch are expressed in Rizpah's outstretched arm, scaring with its torch the fast-gathering beasts and birds of prey from the grim objects of her devotion. The Drawing is even more telling than the Engraving; in it the lion is checked in full career, and thrown dark against the sky.

The late Dr. John Brown of Edinburgh thus admirably writes of the plate (*Horæ Subsecivæ*, vol. i. pp. 440 *seq.*).

"Take one of Turner's sketches in his *Liber Studiorum*, a book which, for truth and power, and the very highest imaginative *vis*, must be compared, not with any other book of prints, but with such word-pictures as we find in Dante, in Cowper, in Wordsworth, or in Milton.

"It is a dark foreground filled with gloom, savage and wild in its structure; a few grim heavy trees deepen the gloom; in the centre, and giving out into the illimitable sky, is a brief, irregular bit of the purest radiance, luminous but far off. There is a strange meaning about the place. . . . You look more keenly into it. In the centre of the foreground sits a woman, her face hidden, her whole form settled down as by some deep sorrow; she holds up, but with her face averted, a flaming torch; behind, and around her, lie stretched out seven bodies as of men, half naked, and dimly indicating far-gone decay: at their feet are what seem like crowns.—There is a lion seen with extended tail slinking off, and a bittern has just sprung up in the corner from a reedy pool. The waning moon is lying as if fainting in the grey heavens. The harvest sheaves stand near at hand, against the sky. The picture deepens in its gloom. The torch gives more of its fitful light as you steadily gaze. What is all this? There are two sons and five grandsons of Saul, who 'fell all seven together, and were put to death in the days of harvest in the beginning of barley harvest.' And she who sits there solitary is 'Rizpah the daughter of Aiah, who took sackcloth, and spread it for her upon the rock, from the beginning of harvest until water dropped upon them out of heaven, and suffered neither the birds of the air to rest on them by day, nor the beasts of the field by night.' For five months did this desolate mother watch by the bodies of her sons! She is at her ceaseless work, morn, noon, and night incessantly. How your

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heart now fills, as well as your eyes! How you realise the idea! What a sacred significance it gives to the place, and receives from it! What thoughts it awakens! Saul and his miserable story, David and his lamentation, the mountains of Gilboa, the streets of Ascalon. The king of beasts slinking off once more, hungry, angry and afraid—finding her still there. The barley sheaves, indicating by a touch of wonderful genius, that it is nearer the beginning than the end of her time, so that we project our sympathy forward upon the future months. No one but a great artist would have thought of this. And that unfailing, forlorn woman, what love! . . . 'Can a woman forget?' . . ."

Mr. Ruskin, no doubt rightly, regards *Rizpah* as one of the plates of the Liber which show the influence of Titian on Turner. He further alludes to it (*M. P.*, vol. i. p. 128) as follows:

"The effect of Italy upon his mind is very puzzling. On the one hand it gave him the solemnity and power which are manifested in the historical compositions of the Liber Studiorum, more especially the Rizpah, the Cephalus, the scene from the 'Fairy Queen,' and the Æsacus and Hesperie; on the other, he seems never to have entered thoroughly into the spirit of Italy, and the materials he obtained there were afterwards but awkwardly introduced in his large compositions.

"Of these there are very few at all worthy of him; none but the

(46)

RIZPAH RIZPA RITSPA

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PART X.

ISSUED MAY 23, 1812.

PL. 47. HEDGING AND DITCHING. [P]

Published May 23, 1812, *by J. M. W. Turner, Queen Ann Street West. Drawn and Etched by J. M. W. Turner R.A. Engraved by J. C. Easling.*

In the foreground, a field; on left, two men bareheaded cutting down pollard tree; sheep beyond. In centre, a woman wearing a man's cap, her back to the spectator. Road in distance with fields on each side.

The Etching.

Engraver's Proofs. I know of no Proof of this plate.

First Published State. Before any mark in margin.

Second State. The first stroke of a capital A at left lower corner of margin. Often little inferior to the First State.

1-1-0

Third State. Mark in margin completed to a capital A.

Fourth State. A dot added in bow of initial letter (P). Reworked throughout; the sky much darkened and showing marks of the roulette.

The Drawing is in the National Gallery.

This plate comes as a foil among subjects noble alike in idea and in treatment. There may be a certain homely truth about the bare fields and leafless trees suggestive of an English winter; possibly also a sympathy between "pollard trees and pollard labourers," as Mr. Ruskin puts it, but the figures seem needlessly repulsive. Millet has given an equal or greater sense of the hard features of nature and the hard aspects of peasant life, with a

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force, pathos and charm which are wanting here. Mr. Ruskin is doubtless right when he says (*Notes on his Turner Drawings*, 1878, p. 33):

"In the Liber Studiorum the commonplace prevails to an extent greatly destructive of the value of the series considered as a whole; the 'Hedging and Ditching,' 'Watercress Gatherers,' 'Young Anglers,' and other such plates, introducing rather discord than true opponent colour among the grander designs of pastoral and mountain scenery."

(47)

HEDGING AND DITCHING — FAISEURS DE HAIES ET DE FOSSÉS

HECKEN- UND GRABENMACHER

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PL. 48. RIVER WYE. [E. P.]

(Originally called 'CHEPSTOW CASTLE.')

Published May 23, 1812, *by J. M. W. Turner, Queen Ann Street West. Drawn and Etched by J. M. W. Turner Esq. R.A. P.P. Engraved by W. Annis.*

A river in front, winding below wooded hill on right, on which are ruins of castle; below castle, barges with smoke from fire on bank beside them. Boys bathing in river, and group of cows on left bank. In the distance on left a bridge; cliffs beyond.

The Etching. First State. Before the figures of the bathers.

The Etching. Second State. Bathers on left bank and in river.

Engraver's Proofs. (*a*) Early; sky unfinished; castle very dark, with five or six window-openings in the keep. Wooded hill below, very dark and without gradation. Smoke by barges very faintly indicated. *T.*, *BM.* (*b*) Similar, but more advanced. *T.* (*c*) Plate much changed; Castle and whole central portions re-mezzotinted. Window-openings in Castle closed. Many new clouds with light upper edges added in upper sky. *T.* (*d*) Lights again added in buildings on left of Castle, but window-openings in keep still closed. Lights added on right mass of Castle, and on foliage below. Smoke at right of barges nearly obliterated and new smoke added on their left. Trees behind Castle, and all left foreground heavily re-mezzotinted. *R.* All the foregoing have 'Chepstow Castle' in scratched writing, in lower margin.

First Published State. 'Chepstow Castle' removed and title added as above. Window-openings in Castle all light. Before any mark in margin.

Second State. The first stroke of a capital A at left lower

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corner of margin. The woods lose in richness and gradation.

Third State. Mark in margin completed to a capital A.

Fourth State. Same mark as in Third State. A ray of light added on slope of wooded hill, falling from a break in the Castle walls to the smoke below. 1 - 5 - 0

Fifth State. Same mark in margin. The smoke which in preceding States has been round in form, is now prolonged to left. Ray of light on woods hardly visible. New light clouds added in upper sky, and more lights taken out on foliage. 0 - 10 - 0

The Drawing is in the National Gallery.

The fine scenery about Chepstow had an early attraction for Turner. In 1794, on his first journey with commissions from a publisher, he drew the Castle as one of the illustrations to Walker's *Copper-plate Magazine*; the *Junction of the Severn and Wye* (Pl. 28 of the Liber) has already been described. In *River Wye*, the Castle is seen from the meadows on the opposite bank. It is interesting to compare the early 'topographical draughtsman' of 1794 with the poetical painter of 1812—the eighteen years have made a difference!

In the Engraver's Proofs of this plate it will be observed that Turner altered the hour as the work progressed. The first Proofs, like the Drawing, give the effect of early dawn, before the sun is up. Then the sun's rays were added and more lights generally. This disturbed the balance of the plate and he re-mezzotinted the whole of the Castle, and closed the window-openings. But the first simplicity and harmony were lost, and the Castle looked a heavy mass; so the windows were again opened and new dark shading was added in the foreground to throw the hill and Castle back. As in the case of the *Drawing of the Clyde* (Pl. 18), *Mill near the Grand Chartreuse* (Pl. 54), *Norham Castle* (Pl. 57), and other plates, it

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appears to me that the earlier and simpler effects were almost invariably the finer. As Turner advanced toward the middle period of his career, his tendency to overcrowd his pictures and drawings with too many lights, too many figures, and often too much meaning, became more and more pronounced. At the end of his life, he returned in a measure to the old noble simplicity; in his sketches of 1840-1845 in Switzerland and the Italian valleys of the Alps, he is simply overwhelming.

The following instructions to the printer, on one of the Engraver's Proofs of this plate are one more instance of the care that Turner invariably bestowed on the smallest details: "Keep to this colour [*ink*], for this colour though not suitable for all is very suitable for this one."

(48)

River Wye — Der Fluss Wye — La Wye, Rivière

PL. 49.

CHAIN OF ALPS FROM GRENOBLE TO CHAMBERI. [M]

Published May 23, 1812, *by J. M. W. Turner, Queen Ann Street West. Drawn and Etched by J. M. W. Turner Esq. R.A. P.P. Engraved by W. Say, Engraver to the Prince Regent and H.R.H. the Duke of Gloucester.*

A wide, cultivated plain, with trees, villages, etc., crossed by a straight road from the right lower corner. To the right, hills; a fire below on the plain. In the distance many mountain chains, with snowpeaks just visible beyond. In the foreground, on a plateau, a vineyard with several figures. Rays of light strike downwards over the plain.

The Etching.

Engraver's Proofs. Three in *BM.*; all very advanced. One, touched by Turner, has the snowpeaks and the smoke on right scraped out white. Another, a little later, *R.* All these are b. a. l. and extremely fine.

First Published State. Before any mark in margin. Rare.

Second State. The first stroke of a capital A at left lower corner of margin. The rays of light across plain less distinctly visible. Early impressions are sometimes fine.

Third State. Mark in margin completed to capital A. Often fairly good. W. W. 2-10-0

Fourth State. Same mark in margin as in Third State. A dot added in the 'o' of 'of' in title. Reworked and darkened. The rays only visible in upper sky. Dull and inferior.

The Drawing is in the National Gallery.

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The Chain of the Alps from Grenoble is a very attractive and an eminently Turneresque subject. It is true that the always pleasant effect of a flat country thrown into light and shadow was well known to De Koninck, and others of the Dutch painters, but none of them have given —probably few of them had ever seen—the charm and mystery of a line of snowpeaks on the horizon. These are exquisitely rendered here; the engraving, like all Say's work, is extremely fine.

Mr. Ruskin, not satisfied with the drawing of the vineyard, remarks (*M. P.*, vol. i. p. 126) that "in the foreground of the *Grenoble Alps*, Turner is, like many other great men, overthrown by the vine."

(49)

CHAIN OF ALPS FROM GRENOBLE TO CHAMBÉRY

CHAÎNE DES ALPES DE GRENOBLE A CHAMBÉRY

ALPENKETTE VON GRENOBLE BIS CHAMBÉRY

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PL. 50.

MER DE GLACE—VALLEY OF CHAMOUNI —SAVOY. [M]

Published May 23, 1812, *by J. M. W. Turner, Queen Ann Street West. Drawn, Etched, and Engraved by J. M. W. Turner Esq. R.A. P.P.*

A glacier in centre, with mountains on both sides. A ray of light strikes downwards from gap in peaks on right. A bird flying over left foreground. Snowpeaks and clouds in distance at head of glacier.

The Etching.

Engraver's Proofs. (*a*) Early; foreground and peaks on right, dark and not defined. B. a. l. *B.*, *T.*, *BM.* (*b*) Central white peak of Mt. Blanc altered in contour and removed nearer centre of plate. Before bird on left, flying over glacier. Lettering as in First Pub. State. *T.* (*c*) Snowpeak more brilliant white. Bird added over glacier on left. *T.* (*d*) The accidental dark scratch hitherto visible just above further right edge of glacier altered into a bird. *R.*, *T.* All the foregoing Proofs are considerably more brilliant in effect than the Published States.

First Published State. Before any mark in margin. Rare.

Second State. The first stroke of a capital A at left lower corner of margin. Much less brilliant throughout.

Third State. Mark in margin completed to capital A. Much worn, and paler throughout.

Fourth State. Same mark as Third State. Reworked all over in mezzotint and entirely altered. Glacier all very dark, except a patch in centre. No ray through gap on right, though gap itself is still light. Clouds and snowpeaks at

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head of glacier darkened, and contours entirely altered. A bar of light horizontal cloud added in upper sky under initial letter. Very heavy, dark and dull.

I know of no sepia Drawing for this plate. There is a Drawing in colours very similar to it at Farnley.

The *Mer de Glace* was Turner's engraving throughout, and his mezzotinting once more proved too delicate to stand much wear, with the result that an early reworking was necessary. The late impressions are very dismal. Even in its early States the plate cannot, I think, be regarded as quite successful. Mr. Ruskin remarks of it (*M. P.*, vol. i. p. 124):

"Let the reader open the Liber Studiorum and compare the painter's enjoyment of the lines in the Ben Arthur, with his comparative uncomfortableness among those of the aiguilles about the Mer de Glace."

The plate is seen to best advantage at a good distance above the eye.

(50)

MER DE GLACE, VALLEY OF CHAMOUNI, SAVOY

MER DE GLACE, VALLÉE DE CHAMONIX, SAVOIE

DAS MER DE GLACE, TAL VON CHAMONIX, SAVOYEN

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PL. 51. RIVAUX ABBEY, YORKSHIRE. [A]

Published May 23, 1812, *by J. M. W. Turner, Queen Ann Street West. Drawn and Etched by J. M. W. Turner R.A. Engraved by H. Dawe.*

The ruined walls of the Abbey nave stretch across plate, with open arches below and two tiers of windows above. In front, the ground slopes to the centre from both sides. On left, ruins of tower; a man sitting on ground below. On right, trees.

The Etching.

Engraver's Proofs. (*a*) Before white lights on masonry of ruins. *R.*, *T.* (*b*) Later, with lights taken out. *T.* Both b. a. l.

First Published State. Before any mark in margin except a kind of irregular capital W at left lower corner. This is an accidental scratch made in etching the plate; it is on all impressions and has nothing to do with the marks of the States.

Second State. The first stroke of a capital A at left lower corner of margin. Often fine, and little inferior to the First State.

Third State. Mark in margin completed to capital A.

Fourth State. Same mark as Third State. A dot added in the 'o' of 'Yorkshire' in title. Reworked and dull.

The Drawing is in the National Gallery.

Rivaulx Abbey, like *Holy Island Cathedral* (Pl. 11)—both purely architectural subjects of the Liber—was at a later date very differently treated by Turner in his *England and Wales.*

It is interesting to compare the Etching of this plate

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with those of *Holy Island Cathedral* (Pl. 11) and *Kirkstall Abbey* (Pl. 39), and to contrast the care and precision with which in the last two, Turner has drawn the columns, capitals, and arches of the Norman architecture, with his comparative neglect of detail in the lancet windows and pointed arches of *Rivaulx* and other Early English subjects.

(51)

RIVAULX ABBEY, YORKSHIRE ABBAYE DE RIVAULX, YORKSHIRE

ABTEI ZU RIVAULX, YORKSHIRE

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PART XI.

ISSUED JANUARY 1, 1816.

PL. 52. SOLWAY MOSS. [P]

Published January 1, 1816, *by Mr. Turner, Queen Ann Street West. Drawn and Etched by J. M. W. Turner R.A. Engraved by Thos. Lupton.*

A broad estuary in centre in shadow, the tide out; across it a long string of cattle being driven to the higher ground in front. On right, in deep shadow, a range of hills with smoke from a fire below them. Thunderstorm overhead, with lightning in distance; clear sky beyond. On horizon, faint gleams of sea, and line of hills.

The Etching.

Engraver's Proofs. (*a*) Marked '1' by the engraver. Very dark all over; no smoke visible on right. *T.* (*b*) Marked '2.' Lighter, but still very dark, except for break of light at edge of distant hill. Dark mass of clouds on right not defined and its reflections on Moss hardly visible. Only one line of smoke. *R.* (*c*) Lightened, but still dark. *B.* (*d*) Lighter again, but still dark. Sky made out. Two lines of smoke. *BM.* All the foregoing dark Proofs are totally different in effect from those which follow, and extremely fine. (*e*) Sky, mountains and thundercloud lightened and defined. Lights added all over the Moss, giving it a wet effect. *H.*, *R.*, *S.*, *BM.* (*f*) The smoke of the two fires blended in one long line. *T.*, *BM.*

All the Engraver's Proofs are b. a. l. and are printed in a much cooler and pleasanter tone of brown than the Published States. The later Proofs are very beautiful, although less striking than the early dark ones. It will be observed that all the alterations were in the direction of lightening the plate, and removing the thunder-storm further and further away.

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First Published State. Before any mark in margin. Generally printed in a very red ink.

Second State. A single diagonal stroke in left lower corner of margin. The lower and smaller flash of lightning which in the First State is lost in a white cloud, is now distinctly continued beyond the cloud, in a pointed form like the upper flash, but is still shorter than the upper flash. Smoke on right lighter and more in relief. Fine, and perhaps preferable to the very red First State. Rare.

Third State. Two parallel diagonal strokes at left lower corner of margin. More lights in upper part of thunder-cloud, and on wreaths of smoke on right. The pools of water in foreground lightened in several places. Often fine. In early impressions the upper part of the thunder-cloud has a very brilliant effect.

Fourth State. A dot added in 'O' of 'Solway' in title. Very worn and inferior.

I know of no Drawing for this plate, but the engraver, Lupton, mentions one in a letter to Pye (Appendix A, No. 12). Nor have I ever seen an oil Picture of the subject. In the late Mr. J. E. Taylor's collection is an impression of the Etching coloured in sepia, doubtless as a guide for the engraver. *Solway Moss* was the first plate that Lupton had executed for Turner, and on this coloured Etching the engraver has written, "I have laid the ground all over the copper in case you should wish to retouch any part." Evidently he had submitted this Etching to Turner, along with the copper-plate, in order that the painter might retouch any parts which he thought needed it.

Solway Moss has always held its place among the five or six greatest plates of the Liber—perhaps it is the greatest of them all. Both painter and engraver seem to have surpassed themselves. The Etching is marvellous in its expression of the utmost possible number of facts, and its rendering of miles upon miles of distance, by the fewest possible number of lines and dots. It is, I take

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it, a typical example of what Mr. Hamerton has called "the power of abstraction" in etching.

In the Engraving, it is scarcely needful to point out the supremely fine rendering of thunderstorm and clearing sky—of light and shadow—of rolling hills and wet sands. No hand but Turner's could have drawn *Solway Moss.* It was, as I have said, the first plate of the Liber engraved by Lupton, whose interesting account of his engagement by Turner I am enabled, by the courtesy of Mr. J. L. Roget, to print.[1] Turner required him to submit Trial Proofs at every stage of the mezzotinting, and there are consequently an unusual number of these, all of the greatest interest. The late Mr. Henry Vaughan had a fine series which he bequeathed to the British Museum. It will be noticed that with each successive Proof, the effect of the thunderstorm was subdued and its distance increased. Opinions will probably differ as to whether the earlier or later Proofs are the finer.

Unfortunately the impressions of the First Published State were printed in a very red tone of ink, and this greatly detracts from their beauty as compared with the Engraver's Proofs. The Second and Third States are sometimes pleasanter in colour, and in early impressions of the latter State, the effect of the altered and lightened upper stratum of thundercloud is very beautiful, and goes far to compensate for the wear of the plate in other parts.

The title is not topographically correct, as the actual Solway Moss is inland, on the Cumberland side of the Border, close to Gretna Green, and clearly is not the subject of the Liber plate. This is really a view of the Solway and Criffel, taken from Lochar Moss, which is on the Scotch side, and is crossed by the railway between Annan and Dumfries, a few miles from the latter town. The scene as a whole may readily be recognized from the

[1] See Appendix A, No. 12.

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railway, but Turner's point of view is taken from some rising ground about half a mile on the shore side, where a road crosses the Moss towards the sea.

It is about this neighbourhood that the earlier scenes of *Redgauntlet* are laid, and Ecclefechan, Carlyle's birthplace, is quite near.

(52)

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PL. 53. *SOLITUDE.* [E. P.]

(Sometimes called 'THE READING MAGDALEN.')

Published May 12, 1814, *by J. M. W. Turner, Queen Ann Street West. Drawn and Etched by J. M. W. Turner. Engraved by W. Say, Engraver to H.R.H. the Duke of Gloucester.*

High trees in foreground; castle and sea seen in distance through them. Under trees in centre, a woman lying, reading; a goat feeding beyond. Hills on left.

The Etching.

Engraver's Proofs. (*a*) Early; Before mezzotinting was cleared away round trees. Touched in white by Turner, and a small branch low down on the tree-trunk on right, drawn in sepia. *BM.* (*b*) Branch added in mezzotint, and plate advanced all through. Before scratch in sky was turned into a bird. *B.*, *H.*, *R.*, *BM.* (three). All b. a. l.

First Published State. Before any mark in margin.

Second State. A single diagonal stroke at left lower corner of margin. The sky less brilliant, the castle lighter, and the horizon much fainter.

Third State. Two parallel diagonal strokes at left lower corner of margin.

Fourth State. Same mark as Third State. A dot in bow of initial letter (P). The whole plate reworked; the dark parts darkened, and the lights taken out brighter, especially in the foreground. Early impressions are better than the Second and Third States.

Fifth State. Same marks as in Fourth State. Lights taken out on the sea in the horizon.

The Drawing is in the National Gallery.

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PL. 54.

MILL NEAR THE GRAND CHARTREUSE DAUPHINY. [M]

Published January 1, 1816, *by Mr. Turner, Queen Ann Street West. Drawn by J. M. W. Turner. Engraved by H. Dawe.*

A narrow mountain gorge, down which, in foreground, a stream falls between large masses of rock. Beyond, rude wooden bridge crosses gorge, with mill below it. A steep wall of rock with pines on its face rises to left; large trees on right. A glimpse of sky in distance over bridge.

The Etching.

Engraver's Proofs. (*a*) Before any white lights in sky; these are here scratched out by Turner. Before waterfall between two trees on right, and before the many small lights on rocks and foliage. Very beautiful. *BM., Mr. G. Blood.* (*b*) Many small lights added all over foreground, and others scratched out. *T.* All the foregoing b. a. l.

First Published State. Before any mark in margin. Usually very heavily printed in a red tone of ink.

Second State. A single diagonal stroke at left lower corner of margin. Rare.

Third State. Two parallel diagonal strokes at left lower corner of margin. The lights on the foliage, rocks, and water, taken out whiter. Generally printed in a browner ink.

Fourth State. Same mark in margin as Third State. A dot added in the bow of the 'D' of 'Dauphiny' in title. Reworked throughout and dull.

The Drawing, which is one of the finest of the Liber, is in the National Gallery (Vaughan bequest).

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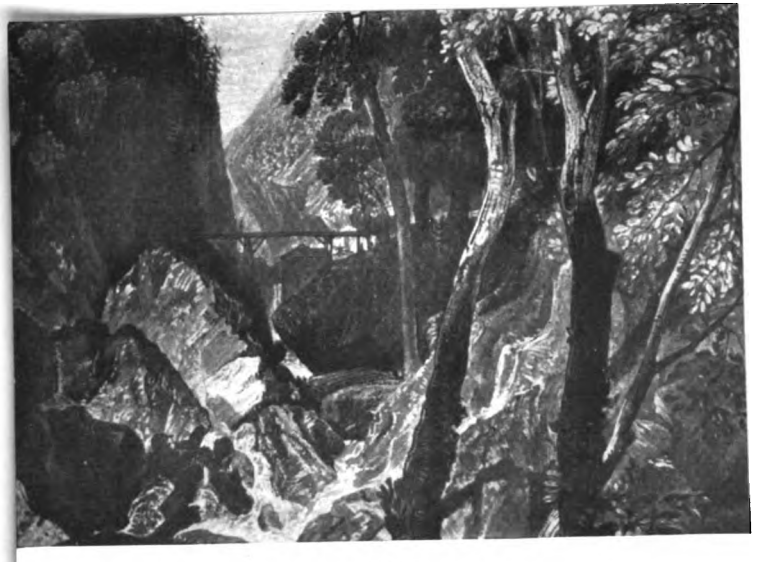
The *Mill near the Grand Chartreuse* is one of those plates of the Liber which I think would have been far more attractive had Turner allowed them to remain as they were at the first stage of the Engraver's Proofs (*a*). Only two of these are known to me, and they have a quiet beauty and harmony which is lost in the later stages, owing to the number of small lights which Turner at the last moment added all over the plate. These completely destroy the unity and serenity of the earlier effect.

As in the case of all the plates of Part XI, the impressions of the First State are printed in a very thick, red tone of ink which detracts from their beauty. It will be observed that the Etching is not by Turner's hand. Probably it was Dawe's work, but it shows evident signs of having been corrected by Turner. A spirited copy of it has been made by Sir Seymour Haden.



(54)

MILL NEAR THE GRAND CHARTREUSE, DAUPHINY — MOULIN PRÈS LA GRANDE-CHARTREUSE, DAUPHINÉ

MUHLE NAHE DER GROSSEN CHARTREUSE, DAUPHINÉ

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PL. 55.

ENTRANCE OF CALAIS HARBOUR. [M]

Published January 1, 1816, *by Mr. Turner, Queen Ann Street West. Drawn, Etched, and Engraved by J. M. W. Turner R.A.*

Two fishing-smacks in front running into harbour, the entrance of which is just beyond them; other boats inside, and large ship on left, with sails set, coming out. Town in distance. Buoy on right, carrying a signal or lantern.

No *Etching* is known. The deeply-bitten etched lines seen in the finished engraving were added *over* the mezzotint.

Engraver's Proofs. (*a*) Early; very dark all through. Sky not made out, and sea and boats only begun. The engraving apparently all mezzotint. B. a. l. *R.* (*b*) More advanced; lines on hulls and rigging of boats mostly etched, but not as deeply bitten-in as later. Barge-board of nearest smack dark, instead of light as later. 'Calais' in faintly-etched capitals in margin. *G.*, *BM.* (the latter printed in black ink). (*c*) Barge-board light. Etched lines not yet deeply bitten-in. Printed in a pleasanter and less red tone of ink than the Pub. States. *R.*

First Published State. Before any mark in margin. Before the dark bands of mezzotint along the side of the nearer boat, over the etched lines. Rare.

Second State. Before any mark in margin. Two dark bands of shading added along the side of the nearer boat, over the etched lines, giving it a more rounded look. Many light clouds added in upper sky, to right of boat coming out, and many dark patches on the waves.

Third State. A single diagonal stroke at left lower corner of margin.

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Fourth State. Two parallel diagonal strokes at left lower corner of margin.

Fifth State. Same mark as Fourth State. A dot added in centre of 'o' of 'Harbour' in title. Very worn throughout.

Sixth State. Dot in centre of 'o' of 'of,' instead of 'Harbour.' Very worn and pale.

I know of no Drawing for this plate. The oil Picture is in the possession of Archibald Coats, Esq.

Calais, its church, its pier, its sands, its harbour, and its fishermen were favourite subjects of Turner's and were often painted by him. Probably its unlikeness to an English port, and the unlikeness of the ways of French people to those of English people, had impressed him on his first visit to the Continent in 1802, and Turner's early impressions always kept their hold on him.

The *Entrance of Calais Harbour* is another of the Liber plates which Turner engraved himself. Apparently it was executed in pure mezzotint without any foundation of etching. The etched lines seen in the engraving were all added over the mezzotint. The sky is extremely fine and the drawing of the waves magnificent. Unfortunately, like *Solway Moss* and all the five plates of this Part (XI) of the Liber, it was printed in a thick reddish ink which greatly destroys its beauty. The Engraver's Proof (*c*) is in a cool pleasant brown and the difference is surprising.

Mr. Stopford Brooke's remarks on the plate (*Notes on the L.S.*, p. 185) are interesting:

"In the first state of this plate, one uniform pall of dark and persistent vapour covers the whole sky, in front of which, and at a much lower level of air, a few white, angry, scudding clouds are driven, the heralds of an approaching storm. In the second state Turner has changed the aspect and temper of the sky. The squall has come and gone, and the wind now blows steadily. But the clouds which the squall has brought with it have left the sky full of their remnants, and these, arranged by the gale in continuous

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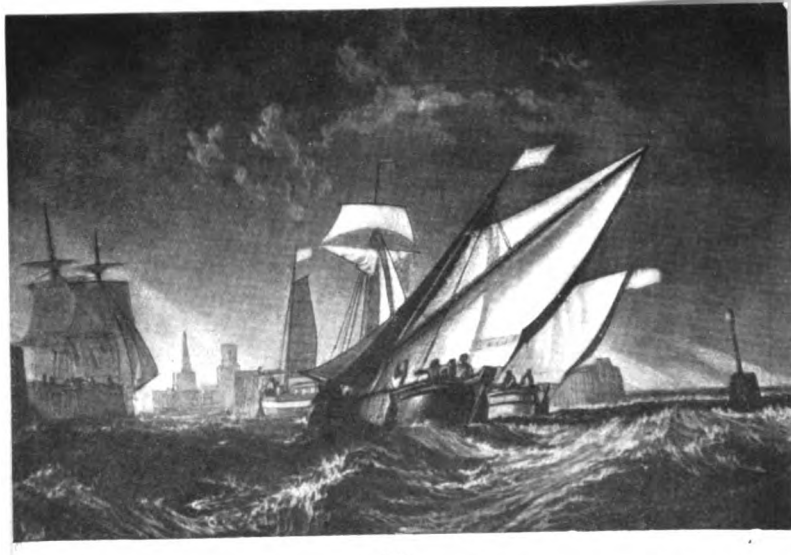
lines, are driven over the harbour inland from the sea. This second state then represents what is happening in the sky about an hour later than the time at which the clouds of the first state were seen and drawn. . .

"This sea fills the front of the picture, and its rushing lines and the impetuous lift of its waves could not be better drawn. What is as fine as possible is the broken and leaping water of the crests of the waves caused by the refluent billow from the pier meeting those that are incoming. Look, too, at the noble way in which the great trawler sinks down into the hollow, full of weight, yet buoyant as a water-bird; and see how full of majesty Turner has made it, with its mighty canvas and the hugh boom and mast; and how carefully and with what sympathy he has engraved the reefed sail, so as to tell at every point the story of the wind in it. . .

"All the force of the subject is in the impetuous slant of the mast and sails of the foremost boat, for this tells alike of the power of the wind and of the power of man using it for a purpose; and Turner enforces this slant by the lines of light which behind it slope in a contrary direction, and by the vertical masts of the barque which, with those also of the left-hand ship, seem to lift the pier and to send back into distance the town at the bottom of the harbour."



(55)

ENTRANCE OF CALAIS HARBOUR — ENTRÉE DU PORT DE CALAIS

EINFAHRT DES HAFENS VON CALAIS

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PL. 56. DUMBLAIN ABBEY, SCOTLAND. [A]

Published January 1, 1816, *by J. M. W. Turner, Queen Ann Street West. Drawn and Etched by J. M. W. Turner Esq. R.A. Engraved by T. Lupton.*

A river in right foreground, with a bridge of a single arch in distance. On left, high wooded bank, on the top of which, on extreme left, is a ruined Abbey with square tower. Below bank, in left foreground, women washing and drying clothes.

The Etching.

Engraver's Proofs. (*a*) Early; sky hardly begun. Central mass of trees on bank below Abbey gable in better gradation and not so uniformly dark as afterwards. *B.*, *T.* (*b*) Clouds commenced and central mass of trees darkened. In margin, in Turner's writing, "the sky must be much brighter and cleaner; and until it possesses both the other parts have not their value—those parts marked X will nearly do, the figures require to be sharper as to lights and shadows. Query have you sufficient ground on sky to bear scraping down, the parts by the tower look rather doubtful." *BM.* (*c*) Several, in progressive stages, the later ones with the small dark bars of cloud added opposite the Abbey gable. *B.*, *H.*, *R.*, *BM.* (three). All the foregoing b. a. l.

First Published State. Before any mark in margin.

Second State. A single diagonal stroke at right lower corner of margin. Light clouds in upper sky worn and less distinct. Foliage not so uniformly dark, and showing more gradation. Fine.

Third State. Two parallel diagonal strokes at right lower corner of margin. A dot in centre of 'O' of 'Scotland' in title. The sky worn. More lights on foliage on left bank.

The Drawing is in the National Gallery.

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The Etching of this plate is fine. The lines indicating the foliage on the left follow exactly the curve of the bank; they are repeated in the group of figures below, and carried on in the clothes which the women are shaking out. The drawing of the rocks in the pool on the right, and of their reflections, is masterly.

As in the case of *Rivaux Abbey* (Pl. 51), Turner has bestowed comparatively little care on the Pointed architecture of *Dumblain*.

(56)

DUNBLANE ABBEY, SCOTLAND — ABBAYE DE DUNBLANE, ÉCOSSE

ABTEI ZU DUNBLANE, SCHOTTLAND

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PART XII.

ISSUED JANUARY 1, 1816.

PL. 57. NORHAM CASTLE ON THE TWEED.

The Drawing in the possession of the late Lord Lascells. [P]

Publish'd January 1, 1816, *by J. M. W. Turner, Queen Ann Street West. Drawn and Etched by J. M. W. Turner. Engraved by C. Turner.*

In centre, on a hill in deep shadow, the ruined Castle with the sun's rays behind it. In front, a broad shallow river. Cows on right bank and in river. A boat with men close to hut on left bank, and sailing-boat in centre below Castle. Hills in left distance.

The Etching.

Engraver's Proofs. (*a*) Very early. Sky uniform dark brown. *B.* (*b*) Later but still early; before any rays or light behind castle and before lights on water or foreground. In dark brown ink. Dark and extremely beautiful in effect; quite different from the later stages. *BM.* (*c*) Further advanced, but before white upper lining of cumulus clouds on left. Drawn on by Turner. *T.* All the foregoing b. a. l. (*d*) Nearly finished; the sky behind the castle light, but before the rays breaking upward, and before many bars of light cloud in upper sky. Lettering as in First Pub. State. *B., H., R.* Mr. Horne's impression has the following pencil notes by Turner in the margin: "This is the colour I wish, but it must be observed that the same ink will not on all the plates produce the same effect, therefore two or more colours must be used, so that all the prints may appear the same tone. When the printer is well set in please let me know."—"The three Prints I have sent are more of the bistre colour than yours, and a fine rich bistre colour is the tint I want."

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First Published State. Before any mark in margin. Rays of light added behind Castle.

Second State. A single diagonal stroke at right lower corner of margin. Generally fine. Rare.

Third State. Two parallel diagonal strokes at right lower corner of margin. Retouched throughout, and a few of the lights on the water, banks and cattle taken out whiter. Early impressions are good, but the added work soon wore away and the majority are poor. The gradation in tone on the Castle hill was soon lost.

In the collection of the late Mr. J. E. Taylor is a very late and worn impression (from the Turner Sale), touched and scraped all over, apparently for reworking; but I have never met with any impression showing that these intended alterations were transferred to the plate.

The Drawing is in the National Gallery.

Norham Castle had a supreme interest for Turner. His first Drawing of it appeared at the Exhibition of the Royal Academy in 1798 and at once attracted public attention. When, many years after, he visited Scotland to make drawings for the illustrated edition of Scott's works, he walked with Cadell the publisher up the Tweed, and on passing Norham Castle he took off his hat. On Cadell's inquiring the reason, Turner replied, "that place made me." Although there is no doubt that as soon as his Drawings and Pictures appeared at the Exhibitions of the Royal Academy their merits were at once recognized by the public as well as by the painters, it was probably *Norham Castle*, along with the *Dunstanborough Castle*, *Crypt of Kirkstall Abbey*, and *Refectory of Fountains Abbey*—all shown at the same time—which led to his election as an Associate in the next year, at the early age of twenty-four.

In the Academy Catalogue of 1798, the following lines from Thomson's 'Seasons' were appended to the title:

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> "But yonder comes the powerful King of Day,
> Rejoicing in the East; the lessening cloud,
> The kindling azure, and the mountain's brow
> Illumined—his near approach betoken glad."

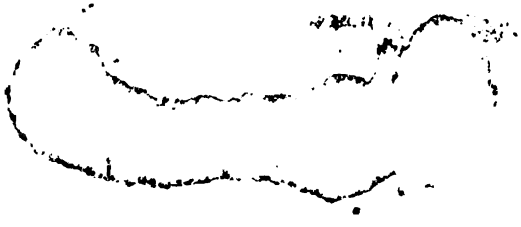
Although the effect in the Drawing and in the Liber print is undoubtedly one of sunrise (the sun does rise behind Norham) they also recall the fine opening lines of 'Marmion' which Turner appended to a later Drawing in the Farnley Collection:

> "Day set on Norham's castled steep,
> And Tweed's fair river, broad and deep,
> And Cheviot's mountains lone."

The rays behind the Castle do not appear in the Liber Drawing, nor even in the advanced Engraver's Proofs, but were added when the plate was on the eve of publication. The earlier Proofs, like the Drawing, have a singularly beautiful and solemn effect of dawn, just before sunrise.

The pencil notes by Turner to the engraver quoted above are another instance of the care bestowed by him on every detail of the production of the Liber.

Norham was engraved again in mezzotint, in 1824, in Turner's *Rivers of England*. The effect is much the same, but there are a good many alterations and additions in the details. Another charming moonlight view appeared in 1834 as a small line engraving in a volume of the illustrated edition of Scott's Prose Works.



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PL. 58. Usually known as *RAGLAN CASTLE.* [E. P.]

Published January 1, 1816, *by J. M. W. Turner, Queen Ann Street West. Drawn and Engraved by J. M. W. Turner Esq. R.A.*

Ruins of castle on right, surrounded by woods. In foreground, a moat overhung with trees and bushes, and crossed in centre by small wooden bridge, below which a moor-hen is swimming. On left, hills and woods.

The Etching. Extremely rare.[1]

Engraver's Proofs. (*a*) The whole plate simply blocked out in mezzotint, with very little detail, and resembling a drawing in monochrome. Extremely fine. *R.* (*b*) Still early; in black ink; sky unfinished and before any clouds. Before water-hen crossing moat, and streak of light beyond bridge. *R.* (*c*) Rather more advanced. *T.*, *BM.* (*d*) Ground of sky added in mezzotint. Very beautiful. *BM.* (*e*) Bird added and some of the light clouds in upper sky. *T.* All the foregoing b. a. l. (*f*) Many light clouds added and plate nearly completed except that there are no etched lines *inside* mullions of windows in wall of Castle and left tower, nor in furthest window on left. Lettering as in First Pub. State. *BM.*

First Published State. Etched lines added inside mullions. Before any mark in margin. Rare.

Second State. A single diagonal stroke at right lower corner of margin.

Third State. Two parallel diagonal strokes at right lower corner of margin. Lights on foliage and water taken out sharper and whiter. Sky much fainter.

Fourth State. Same mark as Third State. Heavily reworked, especially in foreground.

[1] See Appendix C for Lupton's later reproduction.

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The Drawing is in the National Gallery (Vaughan bequest).

If *Solway Moss* is the greatest and most completely Turneresque subject in the published part of the Liber, *Peat Bog* the wildest, *The Source of the Arveron* the finest study of Alpine scenery and *Ben Arthur* of Scottish mountains, *Severn and Wye* the most beautiful river piece, *Inverary Pier* the most attractive rendering of calm water, and *Calais Harbour* of waves in motion, *Raglan*—coupled with *Æsacus and Hesperie*—claims the highest place for woodland loveliness.

It is very questionable whether the plate really represents *Raglan Castle*. I think it does not—Turner gave it no title. It has some resemblance to Berry Pomeroy Castle near Totnes, and he was painting in South Devon not long before 1816, when probably he would have visited so well-known a ruin. The moat is filled up now, but the miller hard by told me, many years ago, that he remembered when one existed.

The Etching is weak and was probably executed by Dawe. The mezzotinting is Turner's own work. The first Trial Proof (*a*) is most impressive and has the qualities of a drawing. Mr. Ruskin, to whom it formerly belonged, once alluded to it in a letter to me as his "quite divine beginning of the *Raglan*."

His inimitable hand has thus drawn the plate:

"Last and sweetest, Raglan, in utter solitude, amidst the wild wood of its own pleasance; the towers rounded with ivy, and the forest roots choked with undergrowth, and the brook languid amidst lilies and sedges. Legends of gray knights and enchanted ladies keeping the woodman's children away at the sunset."

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PL. 59. VILLE DE THUN, SWITZERLAND. [A]

Published January 1, 1816, *by Mr. Turner, Queen Ann Street West. Drawn and Etched by J. M. W. Turner R.A. Engraved by Thos. Hodgetts.*

The town on hill, rising to left. Several towers; one high up, very prominent. Lake on right. In left foreground, road under tall trees. On right, boat making towards pier in centre, on which are figures. The Alps in the distance on right.

The Etching.

Engraver's Proofs. In various stages. In margin, below plate-line, 'Thun,' in scratched letters. *C., R., S., T.*

First Published State. Before any mark in margin.

Second State. A single diagonal stroke at left lower corner of margin.

Third State. Two parallel diagonal lines at left lower corner of margin. Brighter lights taken out on mountain and upper clouds.

The Drawing is in the National Gallery.

(39)

VILLE DE THUN, SWITZERLAND — STADT THUN, SCHWEIZ — VILLE DE THUN, SUISSE

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PL. 60.

THE SOURCE of the ARVERON in the VALLEY of CHAMOUNI, SAVOY. [M]

Published January 1, 1816, *by Mr. Turner, Queen Ann Street West. Drawn and Engraved by J. M. W. Turner R.A.*

A glacier descends from mountains on right, with tall pines and large boulders in front, partly hiding it. Below, a cultivated valley, with mountains all round enclosing it. Bright light breaks from behind dark clouds over snowpeaks on right.

The Etching. First State. Stem of large pine on right, continued down to plate-line. Herbage on extreme right. *T.*

The Etching. Second State. Right corner entirely altered. Boulders, strongly etched by Turner, take the place of the pine stem and herbage.

Engraver's Proofs. (*a*) Very early and dark; broadly touched and drawn upon all over by Turner, giving the appearance and quality of a drawing. Before break of light on right, or any lights on mountains. *R.* (*b*) Advanced proof; the great break of light over snowpeaks on right added, but before the direct rays on right between the pines. Head of glacier still dark as in (*a*). Lights added all over mountain slopes, and on valley below glacier. Printed in a cool brown ink which gives a much finer effect than the red tone of the Pub. States. *R.* Both the foregoing b. a. l.

First Published State. Before any mark in margin. Generally somewhat heavily printed in a red tone of ink.

Second State. A single diagonal stroke at left lower corner of margin. Rare, and generally fine.

Third State. Two nearly parallel diagonal strokes at left

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lower corner of margin. Retouched; glacier much whiter. Early impressions, especially if printed in the browner ink, are often fine. Some very late and worn ones are in a greyer ink, and are singularly attractive from their totally different and *colder* effect.

The sepia Drawing is in the National Gallery (Vaughan bequest). The original Drawing in colours is at Farnley.

The Source of the Arveron is another of the supreme subjects of the Liber although, as in the case of *Raglan*, the Etching is weak and no doubt by Dawe's hand;[1] but Turner's own engraving has more than atoned for Dawe's defects.

Mr. Ruskin (*M. P.* vol. v. p. 83), treating of the characteristics of the pine, thus finely alludes to the plate:

"I wish the reader to fix his attention for a moment on these two great characters of the pine, its straightness and rounded perfectness; both wonderful, and in their issue lovely, though they have hitherto prevented the tree from being drawn. I say, first, its straightness. Because we constantly see it in the wildest scenery, we are apt to remember only as characteristic examples of it those which have been disturbed by violent accident or disease. Of course such instances are frequent. The soil of the pine is subject to continual change; perhaps the rock in which it is rooted splits in frost and falls forward, throwing the young stems aslope, or the whole mass of earth round it is undermined by rain, or a huge boulder falls on its stem from above, and forces it for twenty years to grow with the weight of a couple of tons leaning on its side. Hence, especially at edges of loose cliffs, about waterfalls, or at glacier banks, and in other places liable to disturbance, the pine may be seen distorted and oblique; and in Turner's 'Source of the Arveron,' he has, with his usual unerring perception of the main point in any matter, fastened on this means of relating the glacier's history. The glacier cannot explain its own motion; and ordinary observers saw in it only its rigidity; but Turner saw that the wonderful thing was its non-rigidity. Other ice is fixed, only this ice stirs. All the banks are staggering beneath its waves, crumbling and withered as by the blast of a perpetual storm. He

[1] See Appendix B., List (B); also Mr. Ruskin's letter, p. 229.

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made the rocks of his foreground loose—rolling and tottering down together; the pines smitten aside by them, their tops dead, bared by the ice wind."

The early States of *The Source of the Arveron* are printed in a thick dark red tone of ink, peculiarly unsuitable for an Alpine subject. By the end of the Second State the plate had suffered from wear, and was then very skilfully repaired by Turner. Finding that the darker parts—especially the pine slopes beyond the glacier—had become much lighter, he burnished the ice and snow of the glacier itself quite white, in order to keep the balance of light and shade true. In addition, and probably intentionally, the late impressions of this, the Third State, were printed in a colder tone of ink which gives them a much more Alpine effect. They seem to me indeed more attractive than many of the heavily printed impressions of the First State.

In the Etching, it is interesting to observe the corner on the right, where Turner's hand has dashed in with a few master strokes, a group of rocks and boulders in place of Dawe's weak herbage.

(60)

THE SOURCE OF THE ARVERON — LA SOURCE DE L'ARVERON

DIE QUELLE DES ARVERON

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PL. 61. TENTH PLAGUE OF EGYPT. [H]

Published January 1, 1816, *by J. M. W. Turner, Queen Ann Street West. Drawn and Etched by J. M. W. Turner Esq. R.A. Engraved by W. Say, Engraver to H.R.H. the Duke of Gloucester.*

Towers and buildings on right, all in shadow, but illuminated by vivid lightning breaking from left, above a clump of trees. Below trees, on bank in foreground, women in various attitudes of grief, one stooping over a dead child. A temple high on extreme left. Sky very dark.

The Etching.

Engraver's Proofs. (*a*) Early; before any markings or letters on temple or obelisk in left upper corner of plate, and before lights on buildings to right; buildings themselves much lighter than afterwards. *BM.* (*b*) Later; markings and letters added, and buildings darkened. One (*R.*) very dark and singularly impressive. *R.*, *T.*, *B.M.*

First Published State. Before any mark in margin. The lightning, at last angle before it strikes buildings in centre, divides, branching to left towards trees, as well as to right towards buildings.

Second State. A single diagonal stroke at left lower corner of margin. Lightning as in preceding State.

Third State. Same mark in margin as Second State. Lightning, at angle described above, strikes to right only, towards buildings, the small fork to left having been removed. Sky duller, and lightning less brilliant. The lights on figures and foliage taken out whiter.

Fourth State. Two parallel diagonal strokes at left lower corner of margin. Much of depth of shadows lost; buildings no longer stand out in relief by lightning; whole effect much duller.

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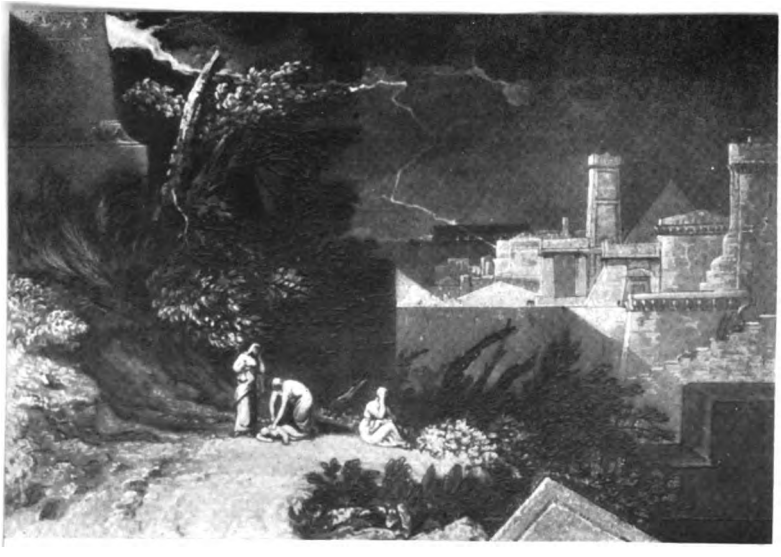
The Drawing is in the National Gallery, as is also the oil Picture from which it is taken with very slight modifications.

There is a certain impressiveness in the Engraver's Proofs and in a very few of the earliest copies of the First Published State of this plate. Something more than the mere luridness of the thunderstorm is in the air. Turner has given the sense of the horror and terror of that awful night when "there was a great cry in Egypt, for there was not a house where there was not one dead." All this however disappears as the mezzo-tinting begins to wear away, and the effect rapidly becomes little better than melodrama.



(61)

THE TENTH PLAGUE OF EGYPT — LA DIXIÈME PLAIE D'ÉGYPTE

DIE ZEHNTE PLAGE VON ÄGYPTEN

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PART XIII.

***ISSUED JANUARY*, 1819.**

PL. 62.

WATERCRESS GATHERERS, *Rail's Head, Ferry Bridge, Twickenham.* [P]

Published January* 1, 1819, *by J. M. W. Turner, Queen Ann Street West. Drawn and Etched by J. M. W. Turner Esq. R.A. P.P. Engraved by Thos. Lupton.

A sluggish stream in foreground, flowing under bank, with reeds and trees on right. On opposite bank, in front, a figure stooping over the water, and a boat on ground above. At extreme left a curving bridge, with figures sheltering under parapet; gig driving along road to right, below a long wall. Heavy thunderclouds overhead, through which, to left, bright light is breaking.

The Etching.

Engraver's Proofs. (*a*) Before girl carrying child. Touched by Turner. *T.* (*b*) Girl added, and sky advanced; in various progressive stages. *B. T.* (a series) *BM.* All

(62)

WATERCRESS GATHERERS BRUNNENKRESSENSAMMLER CHERCHEURS DE CRESSON

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PL. 63. THE ALCOVE, ISLEWORTH.

(Also known as 'Twickenham—Pope's Villa' and 'Garrick's Temple and Hampton Church.')

[E. P.]

Published January 1, 1819, *by J. M. W. Turner, Queen Ann Street West. Drawn and Etched by J. M. W. Turner R.A. P.P. Engraved by H. Dawe.*

A wide reach of the Thames with a mill, houses, and trees in distance. On right bank, meadows with tall trees, through which the square, pinnacled tower of a church is seen; beyond, a small classical temple with pillars. On left, in distance, a boat with white sail. A general effect of strong sunlight.

The Etching.

Engraver's Proofs. (*a*) Early; before all the clouds were defined. B. a. l. *B.* (*b*) Later; sky finished but tower dark, and before the separate reflections of each pinnacle. Lettering as in First Pub. State. *B.*, *R.*, *T.*, *BM.*

First Published State. Each pinnacle of tower separately reflected. Before any mark in the margin. Rare.

Second State. Two dots at right lower corner of margin. Little if at all inferior to the First State. Rare.

Third State. Two parallel horizontal strokes at right lower corner of margin. Tower and church slightly darkened. Often fine.

The Drawing is in the National Gallery (Vaughan bequest).

The Etching of this subject is very attractive, and the fine drawing of the further group of elms especially notable. The Engraving has a sense of strong midsummer sunshine with pleasant suggestions of shade

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from the tall trees and cool airs from the river. It has passed under various titles, but there can be no question that it is a view on the Thames between Kew and Richmond taken from the towing-path, just below and opposite Isleworth. The spot is still very little altered and can easily be recognized. The Alcove is in the grounds of Sion House.

(63)

THE ALCOVE, ISLEWORTH DER ALKOVEN, ISLEWORTH L'ALCOVE, ISLEWORTH

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PL. 64. BONNEVILLE, SAVOY. [M]

Published January 1, 1816, *by J. M. W. Turner, Queen Ann Street West. Drawn by J. M. W. Turner. Engraved by H. Dawe.*

Mountains on right, their lower slopes covered with pines; below them, river crossed by bridge. At left of bridge, chateau with round tower, partly hidden by group of trees. Snow mountains in distance. Two figures sitting on boulder in left foreground.

The Etching.

Engraver's Proofs. (*a*) Early; sky not defined. Very little shading on snow-peak. Mountain slopes on right much lighter than afterwards; consequently the group of dark trees by bridge is much more strongly relieved. Very beautiful. *BM.* (*b*) Nearly completed. Mountain slopes on right, and ground below chateau much darkened. Lights under two first arches of bridge. *R.*, *T.* All the foregoing b. a. l.

First Published State. No lights under arches of bridge. Before any mark in margin. (The stroke in left lower corner of margin is accidental and present in all impressions.)

Second State. A single diagonal stroke at right lower corner of margin. The hills lose gradation of tone, and become heavy; the trees by bridge are a heavy, dark mass.

Third State. Two parallel diagonal strokes at right lower corner of margin.

The sepia Drawing is in the National Gallery. The Drawing in colours from which it was taken, is at Farnley.

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Bonneville was a favourite subject with Turner, and there are many drawings and oil pictures of it by him.

The Etching is weak and is probably by Dawe's hand. The plate is much finer in the Engraver's Proofs than in the finished States; the latter are dark and heavy, and lose the luminousness of the Proofs.

The composition is masterly, and the white peak of Mont Blanc in the distance singularly effective.

(64)

BONNEVILLE, SAVOY BONNEVILLE, SAVOYEN BONNEVILLE, SAVOIE

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PL. 65. INVERARY CASTLE AND TOWN, SCOTLAND; *the Drawing in the possession of the Duke of Argyle.* [M]

Published January 1, 1816, *by J. M. W. Turner, Queen Ann Street West. Drawn and Etched by J. M. W. Turner. Engraved by C. Turner.*

Loch Fyne, breaking in small waves, stretches across from right, and is shut in by distant mountains extending to left. Below mountains, the Castle and scattered houses. On left shore, two tall stunted pines; below them, men launching boat, and nearer, other boats with men. Brig on right, with small rowing-boat near it.

The Etching.

Engraver's Proofs. (*a*) Early; dark all through. *T.* (*b*) Later, in various stages; some before the light clouds on right and in centre, and the white lights on waves. *B.* (three), *H.*, *R.*, *S.*, *T.*, *BM.* All b. a. l.

First Published State. Before any mark in margin. Extremely rare.

Second State. Two dots at right lower corner of margin. Little inferior to the First State. Also somewhat rare.

Third State. Two parallel horizontal strokes at right lower corner of margin. Often fairly good.

The sepia Drawing is in the National Gallery. The large coloured Drawing from which it was taken was recently in the possession of the late Mr. F. S. Ellis.

This view of *Inverary* seems to me much less attractive than the earlier *Inverary Pier* (Pl. 35).

Mr. Ruskin (*M. P.* vol. v. p. 67) has enlarged and re-

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engraved the two Scotch firs on the left, and remarks of them:

"The two Scotch firs in Turner's Etching of Inverary are both in perfect poise, representing a double action: the warping of the trees away from the sea-wind, and the continual growing out of the boughs on the right-hand side, to recover the balance."

(65)

INVERARAY CASTLE AND TOWN, SCOTLAND

CHATEAU ET VILLE D'INVERARAY, ÉCOSSE

SCHLOSS UND STADT INVERARAY, SCHOTTLAND

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PL. 66. ÆSACUS AND HESPERIE.
Vide Ovid Met^s. Book XI. [H]

Published January 1, 1819, *by J. M. W. Turner, Queen Ann Street West. Drawn, Etched, and Engraved by J. M. W. Turner Esq. R.A. P.P.*

A glade in a wood, with sunbeams breaking from the left through trees. In the centre a pool, on the right bank of which Hesperie, half naked, is sitting, dividing her hair. Æsacus approaching from right, under trees. Through a break in woods on right, a glimpse of distant hills.

The Etching.

Engraver's Proofs. (*a*) Very early; dark all through. Hesperie robed in white, but her robe and the ground beside her, coloured in sepia by Turner. *B.* (*b*) Considerably lightened. Hesperie's robe white from head to foot, and no drapery beside her. Before any rays of light. *T.*, *BM.* (*c*) Figure of Hesperie entirely altered; her face darkened, and her body naked to the waist; dark draperies over lower limbs, and white draperies on ground behind her. Figure of Æsacus slightly darkened, with new etched work. The branch above Hesperie's head taken out bright white. Before any rays. *BM.* All the foregoing b. a. l. (*d*) Similar to (*c*) but with lettering as in First Pub. State except that the initial letter (H) is wanting. Before any rays of light. *B.* (*e*) Initial letter added, but still before rays of light from left. *R.*

First Published State. (Known as 'The White Face.') Rays of light break from left, through trees. The face of Hesperie uncovered and turned *towards* Æsacus. No mark in margin. Extremely rare.

Second State. The face of Hesperie covered by her hair and turned *from* Æsacus. No mark in margin. Rare.

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Third State. Two dots at right lower corner of margin. The rays of light, and plate generally, less brilliant.

Fourth State. A line joins the two dots in margin. The face of Hesperie lightened and not so much hidden by her hair.

Fifth State. Two nearly parallel lines in margin. The face of Hesperie still lighter. The plate reworked throughout; a few early impressions are fairly good, but the majority are worn and poor.

I know of no Drawing for this plate, but in the National Gallery is an impression of the Etching elaborately coloured in sepia by Turner, which was evidently his guide in engraving. I have never seen an oil Picture of the subject.

Æsacus and Hesperie is often considered to be the finest, and in its First State it is one of the rarest of the Published plates of the Liber. As a landscape it is enchanting, but the figure of Hesperie is unfortunate.

Mr. Hamerton (*Etching and Etchers*, 1st Ed. p. 86), thus admirably writes of it:

"Of all Turner's Etchings this is the most remarkable for the grace and freedom of its branch-drawing. It is a piece of simple brook scenery, and materials not less graceful exist in abundance in all northern countries which are watered by running streams. Æsacus, the son of Priam, sought Hesperie in the woods; and Turner, with that love for water which characterises all true landscape painters, has assigned as the place of meeting one of those sweet little solitudes which from time immemorial have been dear to poets and lovers. She is seated on the gently sloping ground at the edge of a shining pool; the water has been lately divided by stones which to the left of the etching rise visibly above its surface, but it pauses at the feet of Hesperie where she sits as she thinks alone. Æsacus still unperceived by her, has just discovered her as he breaks through the branching fern. Over the head of the nymph bends a boldly slanting tree, and where its boughs mingle, to the left, there is a passage of such wild and intricate beauty, that I can scarcely name its equal in the work of the master-etchers. Over the head of Æsacus, and between the trunks of the two principal trees, is a glade so full of tender passages of light which are chiefly due to the work in mezzotint, that this plate

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may be taken as a transcendant example of Turner's power in both arts. The brilliant freedom of the etched branches, the mellow diffusion of light in the tinted glade, are both achievements of the kind which permanently class an artist."

Mr. Stopford Brooke's remarks (*Notes on L. S.*, p. 225) are also most interesting:

"The drawing is, of all the Liber Studiorum, the most romantic, and perhaps the most beautiful. I have elsewhere drawn attention to the similar treatment by Shelley and Turner, each in his own art, of vast expanses of landscape seen from a distance, and of all the work and changes of the cloud-scenery of day and night, of storm and calm. These artists, in their relation to Nature, have in these two matters one mind. It is not fanciful to say, though it is a curious thing, that Turner and Keats also resemble one another in their treatment of classical subjects, such as the *Cephalus and Procris* and the *Æsacus and Hesperie*. The scenery of 'Endymion,' and indeed of 'Hyperion,' is largely drawn from the woodlands and dells of England; and the classic figures Keats introduces are such as an imaginative boy would create when he dreamt of the realms of Greek fable, and did not know enough of archaeology to question whether his conception was right or wrong, whether his characters dressed like Greeks or talked like a Greek play. . . . It was exactly so with Turner in these subjects drawn from Greek mythology. The scenery is that of the English woodland and river, and the figures come forth from Turner's unschooled and childlike imagination. They are badly drawn, but he has faith in their rightness. Simplicity and passion belong to them, and Procris and Cephalus, Æsacus and Hesperie, live in his drawing as they lived in his own mind. . . ."

The plate was etched and engraved throughout by Turner himself. It can only be really seen in the Engraver's Proofs and the First and Second Published States. Turner preferred the last-named. The Rev. W. Kingsley, who knew him well, tells me that he went to him to buy an impression. The painter threw on the table one of each of the two Published States, saying "There, choose for yourself." Mr. Kingsley replied that he would rather that Turner chose for him; whereupon the painter handed him the Second State, saying "That is the best."

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Mr. Ruskin, in 1878, exhibited at the Fine Art Society, along with his Turner drawings, a small vignette engraving of the same subject which he had discovered in an old translation of Ovid; he wrote of it "It is unquestionably the first motive of Turner's *Æsacus and Hesperie*, even to the angular disposition of the tree trunks." Unfortunately I have no note of the translator's or artist's names. At the foot of the vignette was the inscription "London, printed for Martin and Bain, Fleet Street, Nov. 22, 1794."

In a letter to me dated November 14, 1878, Mr. Ruskin writes:

"May I also ask you in any new edition to direct attention to the *quantity* and fineness of the mezzotint work by Turner's own hand in Plates 66 and 78 [*Æsacus and Hesperie* and *Via Mala*]. You most rightly note his pervading touch in the *Wye and Severn*, the *Inverary Pier*, and the *Calais*, but you have not said enough of the drawing of *form* in white on the two laboured plates."

He refers to Turner's very fine and accurate mezzotint scraping, by which the white details of the boughs and leafage, and the lights generally, are rendered in this plate, and the other named by him.

(66)

ÆSACUS AND HESPERIE ÆSACUS UND HESPERIE ÆSACUS ET HESPÉRIE

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PART XIV.

ISSUED JANUARY 1, 1819.

PL. 67. EAST GATE, WINCHELSEA, SUSSEX. [P]

Published January 1, 1819, *by J. M. W. Turner, Queen Ann Street West. Drawn and Etched by J. M. W. Turner Esq. R.A. P.P. Engraved by S. W. Reynolds.*

On left, ruined walls and gateway, through which a man is driving sheep and cattle. On wooded bank beyond to right, ruined tower, with sheep driven below. Archway on right with trees above it.

The Etching.

Engraver's Proofs. One only known; finished, but b. a. . In Heywood Hawkins's Sale at Christie's in 1904.

First Published State. Before any mark in margin. Extremely rare.

Second State. Two dots at right lower corner of margin. Generally fine. Rare.

Third State. A single nearly horizontal stroke at right lower corner of margin.

Fourth State. Two nearly parallel horizontal strokes in margin. Re-touched throughout, and many new lights on sheep, foliage, tree-trunks, and clouds. Early impressions are fairly good.

The Drawing is in the National Gallery.

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PL. 68. ISIS. *Picture in the possession of the Earl of Egremont, 3 feet by 4 feet.* [E. P.]

London, published January 1, 1819, *by J. M. W. Turner, Queen Ann Street West. Drawn and Etched by J. M. W. Turner Esq. R.A. P.P. Engraved by W. Say, Engraver to H.R.H. the Duke of Gloucester.*

A lake in centre; to left, small classical temple half hidden by clump of trees; a small bridge in shadow, below. Trees along right bank, and a bridge of three arches in distance. In foreground, bushes and herbage, in centre of which is a large sculptured stone with a peacock perched on it.

The Etching.

Engraver's Proofs. (*a*) Sky incomplete; white upper surfaces of clouds wanting. Bird flying over water in left corner, much larger than afterwards. Touched by Turner. *BM.* (*b*) Bird in left corner very much smaller. Nearly completed, but a few points of bright light on herbage not yet burnished out. *R.* Both b. a. l., and in a browner ink than the Pub. States.

First Published State. Before any mark in margin. Extremely rare.

Second State. Two dots at right lower corner in margin. Generally fine. Rare.

Third State. Two dots in margin joined by a line.

Fourth State. Two parallel horizontal lines in margin.

Fifth State. Same marks as Third State. No reflection of the bird in water in left corner.

The Drawing is in the National Gallery (Vaughan bequest). The oil Picture is at Petworth.

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This plate does not as might be imagined, take its name from the river Isis, but is a view of the Temple of Isis in Petworth Park, the seat of the Earl of Egremont, Turner's early patron and friend for whom he painted the fine collection of oil pictures which are still in the house.

(68)
Isis

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PL. 69. BEN ARTHUR, SCOTLAND. [M]

London, published January 1, 1819, *by J. M. W. Turner, Queen Ann Street West. Drawn and Etched by J. M. W. Turner Esq. R.A. P.P. Engraved by T. Lupton.*

A ravine between hills which sweep down in large curves on either side; at its head it widens and is shut in by mountains in deep shadow from dark thunder-clouds overhead on right. A burn flows down the ravine and is hidden by boulders in foreground. Light clouds, resting on summits of hills on left.

The Etching.

Engraver's Proofs. (*a*) Very early; very dark all through. A few gleams of light on stream in ravine. *B.*, *T.* (*b*) A little later; lighter generally. *BM.* (*c*) Much more advanced; the break of light in sky immediately above peak of Ben Arthur scratched out by Turner, and a similar break below the long drift of horizontal cloud in centre, (this was afterwards darkened again). Before the bright lights on stream in foreground. Very fine. *R.* All the foregoing b. a. l.

First Published State. Before any marks in margin. Extremely rare.

Second State. Two dots at right lower corner in margin. Rare.

Third State. Two parallel horizontal strokes at right lower corner of margin; a dot between them gives the effect of a capital H placed horizontally. Early impressions are fine.

Fourth State. Same marks in margin. Reworked. Sky dull and heavy.

In the collection of the late Mr. J. E. Taylor is a very late and worn impression touched all over in sepia by Turner, apparently for reworking; I have not met with any example showing that these alterations had been carried out, but possibly some such may exist. New mezzotint on a very worn

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plate soon disappears, and can only usually be seen in the first one or two impressions.

I know of no Drawing for this plate, nor of any oil Picture of the subject.

Ben Arthur is the last of the great plates in the Published portion of the Liber. I think it is not too much to say that were all Turner's other works lost, upon the strength of this plate alone, his pre-eminent fame as a landscape painter might rest. Whose hand but his could have drawn those sweeping mountain curves, could have given that grand gloom to the thunderstorm, could have so lightly rested the fleecy clouds on the near hills, so marvellously wedged in the array of fallen boulders through which the stream winds its way, could have so felt and composed the whole scene? It is in pictures such as this that Turner stands as much alone and above his compeers of all times and all countries, as do Leonardo, Raphael, Titian, Michael Angelo, Rembrandt, Velasquez, Gainsborough, and Reynolds.

(69)

BEN ARTHUR, SCOTLAND BEN ARTHUR, SCHOTTLAND BEN ARTHUR, ÉCOSSE

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PL. 70. INTERIOR OF A CHURCH. [A]

Published January 1, 1819, *by J. M. W. Turner, Queen Ann Street West. Drawn and Engraved by J. M. W. Turner Esq. R.A.*

The interior of a Gothic church; candles in chandelier in centre throw light on the clergyman and seated congregation on left. In front, a woman and child entering a pew. Tablets on the walls, and a banner hanging above one of the arches.

The history of this plate, which Turner engraved thoughout himself, is very curious. His first intention was to give it a daylight effect and it was apparently finished, when he decided to change it to night and candlelight. In the collection of the late Mr. J. E. Taylor is a series of ten Proofs, which, with others belonging to different owners, show the various stages of the transformation. These are too numerous to describe in detail, but they may be grouped as follows:

(*a*) *The Etching*, in pure soft-ground. *T.* (*b*) The same with a slight addition of shading; this, Mr. Short thinks, must have been obtained by what is technically known as 'the textile process'. *T.*

(*c*) *Engraver's Proofs.* Mezzotint added all over. Daylight effect, the light entering from unseen windows on right. *R.*, *T.* The foregoing all b. a. l.

The plate appears now to have been regarded as finished, as the date (1816), and the usual lettering were added, but the next Proof (*d*) shows a complete change of effect.

(*d*) The plate heavily reworked in mezzotint all over and quite dark, except that the seven candles in the chandelier and one in the reading-desk are lighted, their tiny flames being the only things visible in a deep, Rembrandt-like gloom. *R.* Similar, but with rays added round each candle; but otherwise all quite dark. *T.* (two).

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(*e*) The plate gradually cleared and advanced to the ordinary Pub. State. *B.*, *T.* (five). All the impressions of (*d*) and (*e*) have the same lettering as the First Pub. State, except that the original date of 1816 still remains.

First Published State. Date altered to 1819. Before any marks in margin. Rare.

Second State. Two dots at right lower corner of margin. Rare.

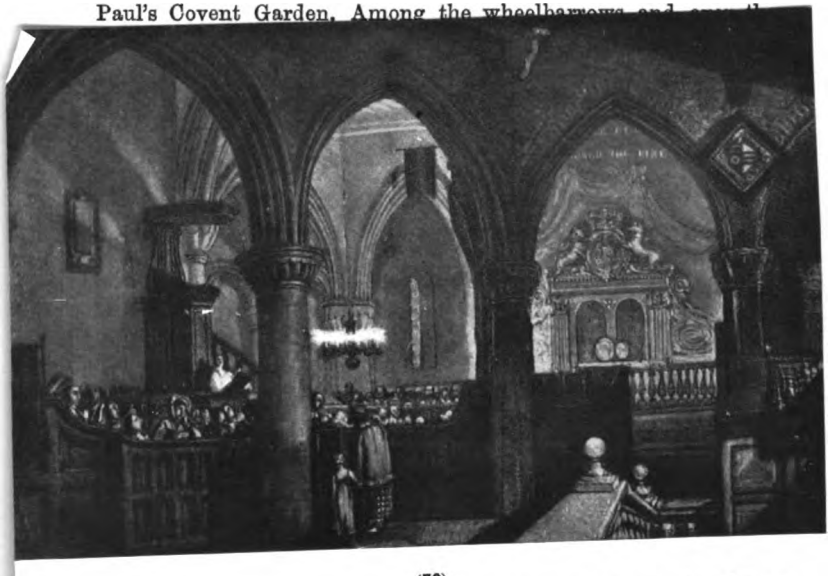
Third State. A horizontal line joining dots in margin.

Fourth State. Three nearly parallel horizontal lines in margin. Reworked and dull.

I know of no Drawing for this plate, nor of any oil Picture of the subject.

Mr. Ruskin's remarks on this plate (*M. P.* vol. v. p. 297) are amusing:

"I suppose the boy Turner to have regarded the religion of his city also from an external intellectual standing point. What did he see in Maiden Lane? Let not the reader be offended with me; I am willing to let him describe, at his own pleasure, what Turner saw there; but to me it seems to have been this. A religion maintained occasionally, even the whole length of the lane, at point of constable's staff; but, at other times, placed under the custody of the beadle, within certain black and unstately iron railings of St. Paul's Covent Garden. Among the wheelbarrows and



(70)

INTERIOR OF A CHURCH — INNERES EINER KIRCHE — INTÉRIEUR D'UNE ÉGLISE

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PL. 71.

CHRIST AND THE WOMAN OF SAMARIA.

[H]

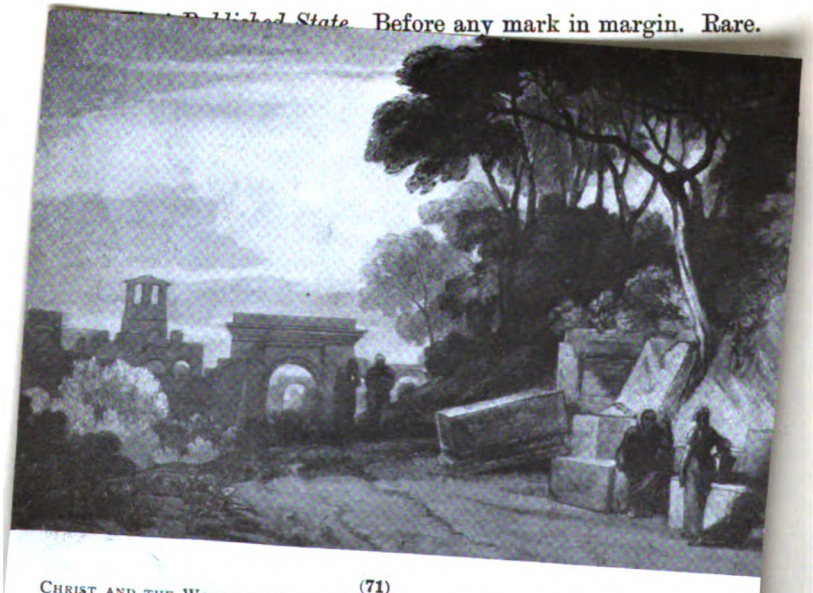
Published January 1, 1819, *by J. M. W. Turner, Queen Ann Street West. Drawn and Etched by J. M. W. Turner Esq. R.A. P.P. Engraved by S. W. Reynolds.*

The figure of Christ with uplifted hand sitting by a well on right, at which is standing a woman with a pitcher; trees overhead. Beyond, two figures approaching from an archway. On left, buildings and towers.

The Etching.

Engraver's Proofs. (*a*) Foliage on right lighter throughout than afterwards; before the many small dark patches added later. In margin, 'The Woman of Samaria,' in faint scratched letters. *BM.* (*b*) Darkened and completed. Without any lettering. *R.*, *BM.*

Published State. Before any mark in margin. Rare.



CHRIST AND THE WOMAN OF SAMARIA (71) LE CHRIST ET LA SAMARITAINE
CHRISTUS UND DIE SAMARITERIN

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THE UNPUBLISHED PLATES.

The original scheme of the Liber Studiorum embraced one hundred plates, seventy of which, and a Frontispiece, had been published, when, in 1819, Turner laid the work aside. Of the thirty required to make up the number, twenty were then in various stages of etching or mezzotinting, but although some of these were nearly if not quite finished, none were ever published. Eleven of the twenty copper-plates lay at Turner's house in Queen Anne Street until his death in 1851, when they passed into the hands of his executors. After twenty years of litigation over the will, they were sold at Christie's in 1873, along with an immense assemblage of his engravings of all kinds. These more or less finished copper-plates were bought by printsellers and others, and many impressions were taken from them. Unfortunately, at that time, the art of printing from mezzotint copper-plates had been lost, and although most of these Unpublished plates were in excellent condition and would, under proper treatment, have yielded certainly twenty to thirty good impressions apiece, nearly all were ruined through the ignorance of the printers. Another of them appeared at the sale of the effects of Lupton the engraver in 1875. This leaves eight of the commenced plates unaccounted for, and these have probably been lost, stolen, or sold for old metal.

Of the ten subjects still required to complete the hundred, the sepia Drawings for eight are known. Five of the eight were in the collection of the late Mr. Henry Vaughan, by whom they were bequeathed to the National Gallery, and they now hang with the Drawings for the Published Plates, in the first of the Turner Water-Colour

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Rooms. None of these eight were even commenced in engraving.

This brings the total number of subjects either begun or completed in engraving, or for which Drawings are known, to ninety-nine, exclusive of the Frontispiece. In the former edition of this Catalogue I attempted to account for the full hundred, and to do this I included a solitary unengraved Drawing which was left by Turner to the nation along with those of the Published plates. This is a classical, Claude-like subject, very much resembling *Apuleia in Search of Apuleius*, and I called it *A Pastoral.* Since then however, five or six more sepia Drawings of exactly the Liber size and character, and which I think there can be little doubt were intended as alternative subjects for the work, have been discovered among the treasures of the Turner Bequest in the National Gallery. This carries the number considerably over the hundred, and it would be quite in keeping with Turner's habits to have prepared more drawings or sketches than the actual number necessary for any work on which he was engaged. As it is of course impossible to say which of these extra Drawings would have been used, I have in the present edition contented myself with describing only the ninety-nine concerning which there are virtually no doubts.

The fame of the Liber Studiorum would have been greatly enhanced had the Unpublished plates and the unengraved Drawings taken their place in the work. There is hardly a commonplace subject among them, and many are worthy to rank among Turner's highest efforts. Several of them have recently been admirably reproduced by Mr. Frank Short, A.R.A.[1]

[1] See Appendix C.

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N.B.—*In the titles of the Unpublished Plates which follow, I have kept to the traditional names, but it should be understood that no titles, or names of etchers and engravers, appear on any of the Original Proofs.*

PL. 72.

APULEIA IN SEARCH OF APULEIUS.

(Known as 'The Premium Landscape.')

Etched by J. M. W. Turner. Engraved by W. Say.

A classical landscape with broad river on left, crossed in mid distance by bridge of six arches, with tower in centre. Trees, a temple with round columns, and other buildings on right. In left foreground, a group of shepherdesses tending sheep, with Apuleia unveiling herself to them. In distance, hills and pastoral country.

The Etching.

Original Engraver's Proofs. B., R., BM. (five).

The copper-plate, apparently finished, was sold at the Turner Sale in 1873. Many impressions were subsequently printed from it on stout, smooth modern paper, and a few on old French paper, like that used for the original Liber plates. Most, however, of these modern impressions are very unsatisfactory.

The Drawing is in the National Gallery (Vaughan bequest).

This plate is taken from the picture with the same title which Turner sent to the British Institution in 1814, to compete for the premium of a hundred guineas offered for the best landscape of the year. It obtained the reward, and hence its name of 'Premium Landscape.'

Apuleia in Search of Apuleius is directly founded on Claude's sketch No. 134 in his *Liber Veritatis.* The

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National Gallery Catalogue states that Turner's picture was painted as a companion to the celebrated Claude in the possession of the Earl of Egremont, and explains its subject as follows:

"Apuleius was a distinguished philosopher and advocate of the second century of our era, and was the author of the celebrated romance entitled *The Metamorphosis, or the Golden Ass*, in which he represents himself as transformed into an ass. The incident, however, represented in this picture, is not in the story of Apuleius. * * * * The personage, 'Apuleia,' and the incident represented, appear to be equally the painter's own invention. 'Palaestra in search of Lucius,' or 'Fotis in search of Apuleius,' would be more in accordance with classic tales."

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PL. 73. *GLAUCUS AND SCYLLA.*

Etched by J. M. W. Turner. Engraved by W. Say.

A small rocky bay, sea on left and a beach on right. Glaucus as a Triton, beckoning from the waves to Scylla, who is running from him on the shore. Wooded rocks with arched opening stretch from right into sea. The reflection of setting sun on waves to left. Rocks and headlands in distance.

The Etching.

Original Engraver's Proofs. B., R., BM. (six).

The nearly-completed copper-plate was bought in at the Turner Sale in 1873, and subsequently passed into my hands. Although it showed but very slight traces of injury from lying by, I had at first great difficulty in getting a good result from it. I was however fortunate in finding an old man who had printed mezzotint copper-plates in his youth, and in his hands it yielded between twenty and thirty impressions which, on comparison with two Original Proofs in my possession, seemed satisfactory. No doubt with proper handling equally good results might have been obtained from the other Unpublished copper-plates of the Liber.

The Drawing is in the National Gallery (Vaughan bequest).

Glaucus and Scylla is a beautiful plate and at once recalls Turner's magnificent drawing of *Chryses*. The sky is very brilliant, and the sea a fine example of Turner's treatment of calm water with small waves, across which falls the track of the setting sun. The whole scene is thoroughly Greek in feeling. Mr. Ruskin, in a letter to me, wrote of it, "I love it as a bit of Greek shore itself."

Exception has been taken to the reflection as not being in an absolutely vertical line from the sun, but deflected slightly to the left. Possibly the engraver's mistake, slight as it is, would have been altered by Turner on the final Proof—the Drawing is quite correct.

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PL. 74. *SHEEP-WASHING, WINDSOR.*

(Also called 'WINDSOR CASTLE FROM SALT HILL.')

Etched by J. M. W. Turner. Engraved by C. Turner.

Windsor Castle in centre in distance. In foreground, a pool in which men are washing sheep. On left, man looking over wall; boy and dog beside him. Salt Hill to left. Trees on right.

The Etching.

Original Engraver's Proofs. B. (three), *H., R., S.*

One of Mr. Bullard's impressions has the two slender birch stems on the right drawn in sepia by Turner in the margin, with the instructions: "Put in the tree and I will etch the lines afterwards." Later Proofs show these additions both etched and engraved.

The nearly-finished copper-plate was sold in 1873, and many impressions were taken from it, but with the same unsatisfactory results as in the case of *Apuleia in Search of Apuleius* (Pl. 72). These impressions, apart from their thin, poor look, can at once be recognized by their being on modern paper. When the plate was done with, I purchased it, believing that below the worn mezzotint the etching might still be recoverable. Accordingly, I had the mezzotint surface charcoaled down, and finding that all but the faintest lines of the Etching were still in fairly good preservation, I had a few impressions printed.

The Drawing is in the National Gallery (Vaughan bequest).

The engraving of *Sheep-Washing, Windsor*, was begun by Charles Turner as far back as 1812, but was never quite completed. It was the occasion of a quarrel between the painter and the engraver, which, with other causes,[1]

[1] See Appendix A, No. 8.

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led to an estrangement which lasted for nineteen years. In the end they were reconciled, and Charles Turner was one of Turner's executors.

Mr. Ruskin (*Elements of Drawing* p. 126) has given a facsimile of the left half of the Etching of this plate, and writes of it:

"Fig. 20 will give you a good idea of the simplest way in which these and other such facts can be rapidly expressed; if you copy it carefully you will be surprised to find how the touches all group together, in expressing the plumy top of the tree-branches, and the springing of the bushes out of the bank, and the undulation of the ground: note the careful drawing of the footsteps made by the climbers of the little mound on the left (it is meant, I believe, for Salt Hill). It is facsimiled from an etching of Turner's, and is as good an example as you can have of the use of pure and firm lines. It will also show you how the particular action in foliage, or anything else to which you wish to direct attention, may be intensified by the adjuncts. The tall and upright trees are made to look more tall and upright still, because their line is continued below by the figure of the farmer with his stick; and the rounded bushes on the bank are made to look more rounded, because their line is continued in one broad sweep by the black dog and the boy climbing the wall. These figures are placed entirely with this object."

(74)

SHEEP-WASHING, WINDSOR — LAVAGE DES MOUTONS, WINDSOR

SCHAFWÄSCHE, WINDSOR

(*Tate Gallery, London*)

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PL. 75. *DUMBARTON ROCK.*

Etched by J. M. W. Turner. Engraved by T. Lupton.

The Rock in distance, rising abruptly from a wide plain, with hills on right and beyond. The estuary of the Clyde, with ships, in mid-distance. In foreground, a road descending to plain, with trees on right; on left a large boulder, and a stile by which a woman is standing; high trees and a bank on extreme left.

The Etching.

Original Engraver's Proofs. B., H., R., S.

Some later Proofs were taken after Turner's death by the engraver, Lupton, in whose possession the copper-plate had remained. These can be distinguished by their comparative dullness, much of the rich, raised effect of the mezzotint having been lost; some are without lettering, and some have the title and artists' names added. The *BM.* possesses two. In 1874 the copper-plate was sold among Lupton's effects at Christie's, and was bought by Mrs. Noseda, the well-known printseller. She had about fifty impressions taken from it on modern paper. These bear the following title in Roman capitals: 'Dumbarton, Drawn by J. M. W. Turner R.A. Engraved by Thomas Lupton. Proof.' All were very unsatisfactory, the result of bad printing.

The Drawing was in the possession of the late Mr. Frederick Locker-Lampson.

Mr. Hamerton (*Etching and Etchers*, p. 87) writes of the Etching of this plate:

"It is scarcely probable, considering the disposition of the lines, that the effect of light and shade was intended to be a powerful one. The artistic motive of the composition was space and beauty, rather than force and contrast. The view is wide and fair, and the last waves of the granite ocean which tosses its highest crests on Cruachan and Ben Nevis, come undulating here in long slopes to the

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edge of the lowland plain. Out of the Clyde the last expression of the exhausted mountain energy rises far off—the fortress rock of Dumbarton. Against this beautiful distance, Turner will bring no rudely contrasting tree, but gives us the slender and delicate acacia, with all its pendent flowers. [It is really a birch.] Leading thus from the faint lines of the distance to the stronger work of the foreground, he has obtained by this transition a natural passage to the massiveness of the great trees to the left. The reader is especially entreated to allow himself to receive impartially the full and sweet amenity of this composition, for there are Etchings of Turner in which his many-sided mind sought qualities very different from amenity. When the student of etching comes across a piece of work by Turner which seems to him brutal and coarse, let him remember the distant hills and the acacia in this plate of Dumbarton."

The fine rendering of the smooth, glacier-worn boulder by the roadside is noticeable in the engraving. In the earliest Engraver's Proofs this stone is a rough ordinary mass of rock, but in the later ones Turner with infinite care has partly drawn, partly scraped on it all those carefully graduated lights which tell at once its history and his insight.

(75)

DUNBARTON ROCK DER FELS VON DUNBARTON LA ROCHE DE DUNBARTON
(*Drummond Collection, Montreal*)

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PL. 76. *CROWHURST, SUSSEX.*

Etched by J. M. W. Turner. Probably engraved by H. Dawe, and possibly also worked upon by Turner.

High downs on right, thinly covered with snow. Below, a valley with flooded stream. On left bank, in foreground, tall trees, the upper boughs thinly sprinkled with snow; men sawing fallen timber below. Village in mid-distance with conspicuous church tower and hop-kilns. Beyond, level country partially flooded. Sky dark, except on horizon; rain-storm approaching.

The Etching.

Original Engraver's Proofs. Four only known. *R., T. University Galleries, Oxford, and one other.* Nothing is known of the copper-plate, which did not appear at the Turner Sale in 1873.

The Drawing is in the National Gallery (Vaughan bequest).

It is unfortunate that this plate—which is as beautiful as it is rare—was never published, although it was nearly if not quite completed. The effect of early snow is a very unusual one among Turner's works, and in *Crowhurst* it is most attractively rendered. The downs have been thickly covered, as is evident from the flooded stream below them, and there is still snow left on their slopes, as well as on the upper, nearly leafless boughs of the foreground trees which are so striking a feature in the Etching. The three turret-like towers at the end of the village are examples of the 'oast-houses,' which are such well known and picturesque objects in this beautiful district of East Sussex. In Turner's time hop-growing was much more general there than it is now. The low, winter sun, which is seen in the later Proofs, was added by Turner during engraving. It does not appear in the Drawing.

In the Oxford impression (the latest and by far the finest) the approaching rain-storm which in the earlier Proofs is rather hardly outlined, sweeps across the sky.

Crowhurst has been admirably re-etched and engraved by Mr. Frank Short, A.R.A.

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PL. 77.

THE TEMPLE OF JUPITER IN THE ISLAND OF ÆGINA.

Etched by J. M. W. Turner. Probably engraved by H. Dawe.

On right, ruins of temple. In centre, a bank on which is a clump of trees. In foreground, many figures in Turkish costume seated on the ground in a ring, with woman in middle playing tambourine and dancing. Bank on left with high trees. Sea in distance with mainland opposite.

The Etching.

Original Engraver's Proofs. Four only known. *H., R., T., BM.* On one of the earliest of these (*R.*) Turner has written:

"Dark and Lights. Fullness or richness of work is wanting over the whole, with sparkling lights upon the figures."

In this impression, as in the one in the B.M., the sea and distant coast are uniform in tone and are scraped by Turner to be lightened, as is also the sky. Mr. Horne's Proof is the latest, and shows the above alterations carried out, the effect of the distant view being much enhanced.

Nothing is known of the whereabouts of the copper-plate, which did not appear at the Turner Sale in 1873.

The Drawing is in the possession of Alderman Hibbert of Preston.

Several pictures and drawings of *The Temple of Jupiter, Ægina* were made by Turner. Two of them are engraved in line, but both these are different from the Liber plate. The latter approaches more nearly to the large oil Picture in the possession of the Duke of Northumber-

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land. All are believed to have been taken from sketches by Gally Knight, Turner never having visited Greece himself.

The forms and the grouping of the trees here are fine, but they are more Northern than Greek in their character. The view of the sea, and the distant mainland of Greece, is very charming in the latest Proof (*H.*).

(77)

THE TEMPLE OF JUPITER IN THE ISLAND OF ÆGINA

LE TEMPLE DE JUPITER DANS L'ILE D'ÉGINE

DER TEMPEL JUPITERS AUF DER INSEL ÄGINA

(*British Museum, London*)

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PL. 78.

SWISS BRIDGE, MONT ST. GOTHARD.

(Also known as 'VIA MALA.')

Etched by J. M. W. Turner. Probably also engraved by him.

A mountain pass with a road on right winding upwards above a narrow deep gorge, which is crossed in the centre by a slender bridge of a single arch. On right and all around, high mountain slopes; a sheer precipice on left. Men and mules passing along road.

The Etching.

Original Engraver's Proofs. Three only known. *R., S., and one other.*

The copper-plate, like the two preceding, appears to have been lost.

The Drawing is in the possession of Mr. J. Irvine Smith.

This is one of the very finest plates of the Liber, and it is unfortunate that only three impressions of it survive. The two other St. Gothard plates (Pls. 9 and 19) are both fine, but this far surpasses them in grandeur. It will be noticed how the depth of the precipice on the right is emphasized by the figure leaning over the parapet of the road and looking down. In the earliest of the three Engraver's Proofs, there are no high lights on the torrent, nor on the rock-faces above the road, and the effect is more impressive.

Mr. Ruskin ranks the Etching as the second finest of the Liber. For his remarks on Turner's attachment to the St. Gothard Pass, see the passage quoted with Pl. 9, and others in *Modern Painters.*

The plate was re-etched and engraved by Mr. Frank Short, A.R.A, in 1896, with the title of *Via Mala.*

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PL. 79. *PLOUGHING, ETON.*

Etched first by J. M. W. Turner and afterwards, on another plate, by T. Lupton. Engraved by Lupton.

Eton College Chapel in mid-distance. In front, man ploughing with team of horses led by a boy. In left foreground, girl seated with a child in her arms; a basket and bottle behind her. On right, a reedy pool; a milestone beside it. Sun setting amidst light clouds.

This subject underwent many vicissitudes and it has not been easy to decipher its history. I have endeavoured to trace the various stages below:

A. *The First Plate:*

A 1. *The First Etching* (by Turner), *First State.* Eight windows in side of chapel. Milestone on right with 'J. M. W. T.,' in capital letters, and a cross in a circle below. Boy's whip in right hand. Very bold in handling throughout. One impression only known; this is coloured in sepia as a guide for the engraver. National Gallery (Vaughan bequest).

The etched copper-plate was now beaten up from the back for alterations. Of this stage also only one impression—an imperfect one—is known, viz.:

A 2. *The First Etching, Second State.* Centre blank; figure of plough-boy and part of Chapel behind him having been obliterated. *BM.*

Further alterations in the Etching were then attempted by Turner in the blank space, but the copper proved to have been so much injured that it was thrown aside. It was found in Turner's house at his death, but was not considered worth including in the Sale. Subsequently it passed into my possession and I have obtained some impressions from it, which,

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although they are blank where the copper has been beaten up, still show Turner's masterly etching of the foreground.

Another copper-plate was then commenced; the etching of this is probably partly by Lupton, but completed and strengthened by Turner. This I describe as:

B. *The Second Plate:*

B 1. *The Second Etching.* Eight windows in side of chapel, the two on left hidden by trees. Boy's whip in *left* hand, Milestone with *J. M. W. T.* in italic letters, and no cross or circle below them. *R.*, *BM.*

This Second Plate was then mezzotinted by Lupton, producing:

B 2. *The First Engraver's Proof.* Eight windows in side of chapel. A cross added on milestone. Girl without bonnet and her head turned towards the horses. No toy in child's hand. Two impressions known—one *BM.*, (Vaughan bequest), and another formerly in the Heywood Hawkins Collection. On the latter are drawn by Turner, in oil or thick body-colour, the following alterations which will be found carried out in:

B 3. *The Second Engraver's Proof.* Girl with sun-bonnet, and her head turned towards ploughman. A paper toy in child's hand. *BM.*

This plate (B) was now apparently considered as finished, but no further impressions appear to have been taken from it, and it was found in Turner's house at his death. It was offered at the Sale in 1873, but was bought in, and subsequently passed into my possession along with Plate A. I obtained about fifteen impressions from it, but only a few of these were satisfactory.

After Turner's death Lupton etched and engraved, apparently on steel, a *third* plate. This is easily to be distinguished from the others:

C. *The Third Plate:*

C 1. *The Third Etching, First State. Six windows only* in side of chapel, all distinctly seen; their tracery care-

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lessly drawn. Plough-boy's whip in left hand and reaching above his head. Girl's head turned to right. Before basket, etc., behind her. One torn impression. *BM.*

C 2. *The Third Etching, Second State.* Six windows, as in the preceding. Girl without bonnet, and her head turned to left. Basket etc., behind her added. Two impressions. *BM.*

C 3. *The Third Plate. Engraver's Proofs.* Six windows, and other details, as in C 2. Plate mezzotinted and completed. One very fine impression, before margin was cleaned. *BM.* Another, with margin cleaned, also fine. *R.* Later ones are occasionally to be met with; they are without any lettering, and are usually printed in a darker brown ink.

The Drawing, which is in the National Gallery (Vaughan bequest), appears to have undergone several alterations, chiefly in the buildings. In the same place is the solitary impression described above of the First Etching (A 1), coloured in sepia as a guide for the engraver.

(79)

PLOUGHING, ETON — DAS PFLÜGEN, ETON (British Museum, London) — LABOURAGE, ETON

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PL. 80. *PAN AND SYRINX.*

Etched only, by whom is unknown, but apparently not by Turner.

A reedy pool in the centre of a wood; beside it Syrinx is standing, and Pan running towards her from right. A large willow trunk stretches across beyond; rays of light break from left through trees.

This plate was apparently carried no further than the Etching, of which three impressions only are known to me. *T.*, *BM.*, and one in the Reiss Sale in 1901. This last is now, I believe, in the Lenox Library in New York. The copperplate did not appear at the Turner Sale in 1873.

The Drawing, a very fine one, is in the Print Room of the British Museum, and bears some resemblance to *Æsacus and Hesperie* (Pl. 66).

Pan and Syrinx has been re-etched and engraved, from the original Drawing, by Mr. Frank Short, A.R.A.

(80)

PAN AND SYRINX — PAN UND SYRINX — PAN ET SYRINX

(*British Museum, London*)

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PL. 81. *STONEHENGE AT DAYBREAK.*

Engraved, apparently in pure mezzotint, by J. M. W. Turner.

The whole scene very dark, except on the horizon. Stonehenge on the right, relieved against the dawn which is just breaking behind. On the left, a laden stage-coach, in silhouette. Beyond, to left, woman in light cloak; sheep in foreground indistinctly seen.

Original Engraver's Proofs. Three only known. *B., T., S.*

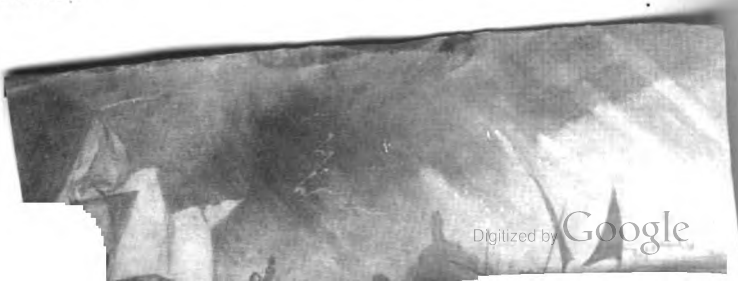
The commenced copper-plate was sold in the Turner Sale in 1873, and many impressions were subsequently taken from it, but all of unsatisfactory character.

The Drawing is in the collection of the late Mr. J. E. Taylor.

In this very fine plate, engraved by Turner's own hand, he has doubtless intended to throw into strong contrast the past and the present. In his day the well-appointed stage-coach was justly considered as one of the greatest triumphs of a century which, even thus early, prided itself on its progress. It comes looming rapidly out of the darkness, whilst beside it, thrown strongly into relief against the first gleams of the dawn, are the grey forms of one of the oldest works of human hands which has survived from a past, remote beyond knowledge.

Another view of Stonehenge appears in Turner's *England and Wales*, but his treatment of it there is entirely different.

Stonehenge has been finely re-engraved in pure mezzotint, direct from the Drawing, by Mr. Frank Short, A.R.A.



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PL. 82. *THE FELUCCA.*

Engraved apparently in pure mezzotint, probably by H. Dawe. The etched lines were added later, over the mezzotint.

Sea in front; half-decked boat containing two men on left; the light sails of larger boat seen just over it. In mid-distance, a felucca sailing to right. In distance, a rocky island on which is a high tower. Beyond, a line of coast, with a white town on cliffs in extreme distance. Thunderstorm overhead.

Original Engraver's Proofs. *B., S., T.*, and one or two others.

The copper-plate was bought at the Turner Sale in 1878 by the late Mr. W. S. Caine, M.P., who presented it to the Liverpool Art Gallery. Before doing so he had about twenty impressions printed by Delâtre of Paris. These are superior to the majority of the reprints of the Unpublished plates, but are still far from satisfactory when compared with the Original Proofs. One or two were taken without lettering; but the rest bear the inscription in italics, '*One of the first edition of* 30 *Impressions*[1] *Reprinted by Delâtre. London.*'

The Drawing is in the National Gallery.

[1] Twenty only were actually taken.

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PL. 83. *THE STORK AND AQUEDUCT.*

(Sometimes called 'THE HERON'S POOL.')

Etched by J. M. W. Turner. Engraved probably by H. Dawe.

High in mid-distance an aqueduct or viaduct crosses a rocky glen with high wooded hills on either side. In front, large mass of smooth rock, at foot of which a stream falls from right between rocks, to pool on left, on the edge of which is a stork or heron. A small waterfall on extreme left.

The Etching. There are two States; the earlier with less work on the large rock in the centre.

Original Engraver's Proofs. Four only known. *B., R., T.,* and one other.

The copper-plate was sold in 1873, and many impressions were subsequently printed from it on modern paper. A few of the earlier of these were more successful than the other reprints of the Unpublished plates, but they will not bear comparison with the Original Proofs.

I know of no Drawing for this plate.

This plate has been thought to be a view of Ruabon Viaduct, North Wales. In composition, rock and tree drawing, and disposition of light and shade, it ranks among the best plates of the Liber. Mr. Ruskin considers the Etching the finest in the whole work. (*Elements of Drawing*, p. 134.)

The Stork and Aqueduct has been well re-etched and engraved by Mr. Frank Short, A.R.A.

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PL. 84. *THE LOST SAILOR.*

(Also called 'STORM OVER THE LIZARD.')

Probably Engraved throughout by J. M. W. Turner.

High cliffs on left, against which huge waves are breaking. Below the cliffs, in the hollow of the sea, a man lashed to a block, tossing head downwards. In right distance, a tower or lighthouse just visible on edge of cliffs.

Original Engraver's Proofs. Three only known; one in the collection of the late Mr. Ruskin, one in that of Mr. Harland Peck, and one in my own possession. Nothing is known of the copper-plate.

I know of no Drawing for this plate, nor of any oil Picture.

The Lost Sailor is evidently Turner's own engraving throughout, and, as in other similar cases, the methods employed by him are difficult to follow. Mr. Short thinks that the plate was 'rocked' for mezzotinting—very likely by Turner himself—in an unusual way and with a very coarse tool. In my Trial Proof, which is the earliest, there are a few faint traces of etched lines under the mezzotint, but nothing like the usual etched foundation. Possibly, however, the heavy 'rocking' tool, alluded to above, may have nearly obliterated a soft-ground etching underneath.

In my impression, the distant headland on the right is low and nearly level in outline, and on it there is a square tower. In Mr. Ruskin's, the next in sequence, and in Mr. Harland Peck's which follows, the cliff is boldly sloped away, and the tower raised and narrowed to lighthouse form. In addition, on Mr. Ruskin's Proof, are new patches of strong, deeply-bitten etching,

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added on the cliffs and on the wreckage in the foreground. These were doubtless intended to accent the darks in front and so send back the distance, just as Turner did in the case of *Calais Harbour* (Pl. 55). In Mr. Harland Peck's impression, these patches are in process of being worked into form.

Mr. Ruskin thus alludes to this impressive plate (*M. P.* v. p. 340):

"There is no form of violent death which he has not painted. Pre-eminent in many things, he is pre-eminent also bitterly in this. Durer and Holbein drew the skeleton in its questioning; but Turner, like Salvator, as under some strange fascination or captivity, drew it at its work. Flood and fire, and battle and wreck, and pestilence and solitary death more fearful still. The noblest of all the plates of Liber Studiorum, except the Via Mala, is one engraved with his own hand, of a single sailor, yet living, dashed in the night against a granite coast—his body and outstretched hands just seen in the trough of a mountain wave, between it and the overhanging wall of rock, hollow, polished and pale, with dreadful cloud and grasping foam."

Mr. Frank Short, A.R.A., has recently re-engraved the plate, taking the latest Proof as his model.

Two curious reproductions of the plate were made for Mr. Ruskin when he was at Oxford, by S. Fisher, an old line engraver who produced an elaborate but coarse Etching, and also what appears to be a clumsy lithographic transcript of the Mezzotint. Neither are of any value.

PL. 85.

MOONLIGHT AT SEA. THE NEEDLES.

Engraved apparently in mezzotint, with etching over it, by J. M. W. Turner.

A full moon overhead breaking through dark clouds over wide expanse of sea. In front, a boat in which are several men and a light, tossing on the waves. The Needles on the right.

The Drawing is in the National Gallery (Vaughan bequest).

Original Engraver's Proofs. Two only known. *BM.* (Both Vaughan bequest):—

(*a*) Moon indistinct in form. Reflection below it distinct. Light seen through small opening in central rock of Needles. Boat in shadow, but figures of several men in it silhouetted against light on waves beyond. Boat to left clearly made out.

At this stage the effect is extremely fine and the drawing of the waves superb; but apparently the plate was now re-mezzotinted all over and spoiled, as is seen in:—

(*b*) Plate reworked all over. Moon sharply outlined, and a thin light cloud added just below it; reflection in sea nearly obliterated. Boat in centre an indistinct dark mass, with no figures visible. Boat on left removed. Drawing of waves generally, considerably altered.

The copper-plate, in the condition (*b*), was bought at the Turner sale in 1873 by a private collector, and a few interesting impressions were subsequently taken from it.

Another copper-plate, which had been found with it in Turner's house, had been etched and strongly bitten over the

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mezzotint, and subjected to some further process which had so completely ruined it that it was not considered worth offering for sale.

Moonlight at Sea has been admirably engraved in pure mezzotint, by Mr. Frank Short, A.R.A., from the original Drawing.

(85)

MOONLIGHT AT SEA.
THE NEEDLES

CLAIR DE LUNE SUR MER.
THE NEEDLES

MONDSCHEIN AUF DEM MEERE. THE NEEDLES
(*British Museum, London*)

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PL. 86. *MOONLIGHT ON THE MEDWAY AT CHATHAM.*

Engraved apparently in pure mezzotint, probably by H. Dawe.

A broad estuary, down the centre of which the full moon is reflected. On left, a line of sailing barges in perspective. On the horizon, heights, indistinctly visible, stretch across the picture. A windmill high up stands out against the sky; behind it, a tall chimney with smoke. On the right, the Castle with a large three-masted hulk below, very indistinctly seen.

Original Engraver's Proofs. B., R., T., BM. Nothing is known of the copper-plate.

The Drawing is in the National Gallery (Vaughan Bequest).

This plate is a fine and poetical rendering of moonlight on still water, as the one preceding is of moonlight on a tumbling sea.

All Turner's moonlight pictures possess the rare union of strength with delicacy. They have none of the weakness and staginess which are so generally associated with such subjects.

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PL. 87. *KINGSTON BANK.*

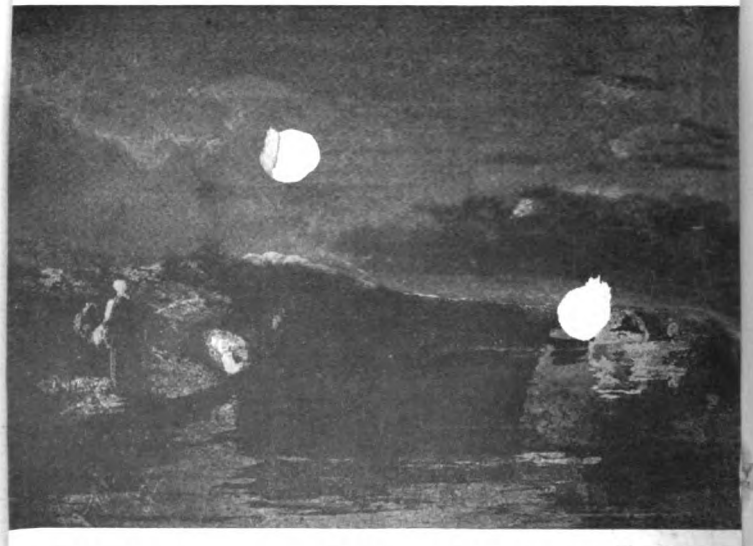
Commenced only, in mezzotint with aquatint over, by J. M. W. Turner.

A broad reach of river in front. On left bank, cornfield with harvesters and cart. Below them, on edge of river, several women, and a man washing. Barge with sail on right. Beyond, a waggon and horses. Fields and flat country in distance.

N.B.—This description is taken from the Drawing.

Original Engraver's Proofs. One only known. *S.*

This single impression is probably the first Trial Proof of an experiment by Turner in engraving. Mr. Short, after examining it, writes as follows: "The only thing in it of any use at all is that figure of the girl—all the other figures (excepting a suggestion of the man drinking) are absent. But it is very interesting to me as a proof—an undoubted one—of what I have so long maintained, that Turner in his own plates was much given to use aquatint over mezzotint.



(87)

KINGSTON BANK — FLUSSUFER BEI KINGSTON (*Sir John Murray, Edinburgh*) — RIVAGE A KINGSTON

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PL. 88. *THE DELUGE.*

Engraved apparently in pure mezzotint; probably by J. M. W. Turner.

In front, a broad volume of water sweeping from right around a nearly submerged island on which a number of figures are crowded; a serpent below them. Other figures are being carried away by the waters. On left, a high bank with trees swept by storm breaking overhead. Dark clouds all over sky, with gleam of light in distance on left. A white bird in front over water.

Original Engraver's Proofs. One only known. ***R.***

The copper-plate was sold at the Turner Sale in 1873, but the impressions subsequently taken from it were very unsatisfactory. In the ***BM.*** is a fairly good impression in black ink, taken probably before the Sale.

The Drawing, which is very slight in execution, is in the National Gallery (Vaughan bequest).

The terrific forces of wind and water are grandly rendered in this plate. Observe how the bird on the left

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(88)

THE DELUGE — DIE SÜNDFLUT (*Mr. W. G. Rawlinson, London*) — LE DÉLUGE

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PL. 89.

FLOUNDER FISHING, BATTERSEA.

Engraved and subsequently etched, probably by J. M. W. Turner.

A wide reach of the Thames, with Old Battersea Bridge in distance. Several sailing and rowing boats, the nearest with two men and a basket of fish. A round tower or gatehouse at right end of bridge, and boats with white sails below it.

Original Engraver's Proofs. One only known. *BM.* (Vaughan bequest). This, which is only commenced, shows some etched lines, slightly bitten-in, over the mezzotint.

The copper-plate was sold in 1873, but the impressions subsequently taken from it were very unsatisfactory. They show the etched lines more deeply bitten-in than in the Original Proof named above.

I know of no sepia Drawing for this plate, but in the collection of the late Mr. J. E. Taylor is a very slight sketch of the subject in colours. Probably this was taken from the large coloured Drawing at Farnley, which the plate resembles.

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PL. 90. *NARCISSUS AND ECHO.*

Etched only, in soft-ground, by J. M. W. Turner.

A pool in left foreground, on further shore of which Narcissus is kneeling, looking at his reflected image. Nymphs hiding behind rocks and trees, watching him. On left, low hills and woods. On right, a path below high trees. Beyond, a town on a hill above distant sea.

Original Proofs. Three only known, *T.* (two), *BM.* On the back of one (*T.*) is written: "This Etching, done by Turner himself, was by him given to me at Petworth. It is from his picture in the Gallery there. (Signed) Elizth. Phillips."

Nothing is known of the copper-plate, which was apparently carried no further than the soft-ground etching.

No Drawing for this plate is known. The oil picture, from which it is taken, was exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1804, and is now at Petworth.

We have clear evidence here that Turner etched a Liber copper-plate, in soft-ground, direct from a picture previously painted by him, intending no doubt to complete the engraving himself in mezzotint. This method was probably also followed in the case of other Liber plates for which no Drawings are known, such as *The Calm* (Pl. 44), *Entrance to Calais Harbour* (Pl. 55), *Interior of a Church* (Pl. 70) and Plates 84 and 89 Unpublished.

Mr. Ruskin (*M. P.* vol. v. p. 304) points out that the oil Picture was Turner's first classical subject.

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PL. 91. *SAND BANK WITH GIPSIES.*

Etched only, in soft-ground, by J. M. W. Turner.

In foreground, a lane between a high sandy bank on right, and trees on left. In mid-distance the lane dips, and is hidden by trees, below which, on left, are gipsies with a fire. Cows on top of bank on right, and a team of oxen ploughing beyond.

Original Proofs. Three only known. *T.* (two), *BM.*

Nothing is known of the copper-plate, which was apparently carried no further than the soft-ground Etching.

The Drawing is in the National Gallery (Vaughan bequest). The oil Picture from which it is taken was painted in 1809, and is also in the National Gallery.

This subject has always been considered to show the influence of Gainsborough.

(91)

SANDBANK WITH GIPSIES — BANC DE SABLE AVEC DES BOHÉMIENS

SANDHÜGEL MIT ZIGEUNERN

(*British Museum, London*)

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The Subjects which follow (Plates 92 to 99) exist as Drawings only.

PL. 92. *VIEW OF A RIVER FROM A TERRACE (MACON?).*

A terrace in foreground with balustrades and arches to right; from it is seen a broad river and wooded country beyond. A bridge of five arches crosses river in mid-distance. Wooded banks and trees on each side of terrace.

The Drawing is in the National Gallery (Vaughan bequest). It is not known to have been etched or engraved in Turner's lifetime.

Mr. Frank Short, A.R.A., has very successfully etched and engraved this Drawing, which has a considerable resemblance to the oil Picture of *Macon* in the possession of the Earl of Yarborough.

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PL. 93. *FALLS OF THE RHINE, SCHAFFHAUSEN.*

Castle in centre on high rocky bank. The Falls below to right. Mill and houses on bank in centre foreground among trees.

The Drawing is in the National Gallery (Vaughan bequest). It is not known to have been etched or engraved in Turner's lifetime.

Mr. Frank Short, A.R.A., has etched and engraved this Drawing.

(93)

FALLS OF THE RHINE, SCHAFFHAUSEN — CHUTE DU RHIN, SCHAFFHAUSEN

RHEINFALL, SCHAFFHAUSEN

(*Tate Gallery, London*)

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PL. 94. *VIEW OF A LAKE.*

(Sometimes called 'DERWENTWATER.')

Lake in centre, enclosed by hills. Road in foreground descending to margin of lake between rocks and trees. On left, high trees on bank throwing deep shadow.

The Drawing is in the National Gallery (Vaughan bequest). It is not known to have been etched or engraved in Turner's lifetime.

Mr. Frank Short, A.R.A., has engraved this Drawing on a foundation of soft-ground etching.

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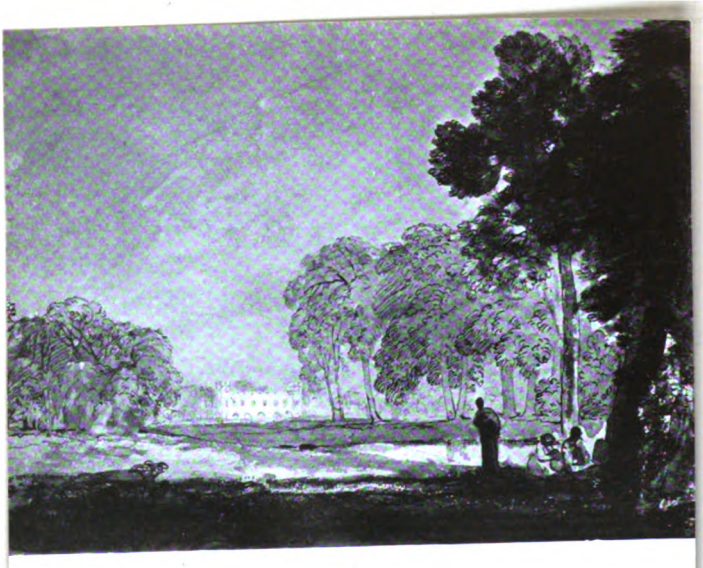
PL. 95. *SION HOUSE, ISLEWORTH.*

A park in foreground, across which in distance is seen a white castellated house among trees. On right, a pond, by which are several figures; high trees above it on extreme right.

The Drawing is in the Print Room of the British Museum. It is not known to have been etched or engraved in Turner's lifetime.



(95)
SION HOUSE, ISLEWORTH
(*British Museum, London*)

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PL. 96. *HUNTSMEN IN A WOOD.*

An open space in a wood, through which a stream flows from the left between trees. In right foreground, a bridge, over which a keeper followed by several dogs, is crossing towards glade on right. Across stream, huntsmen and hounds on edge of wood. In distance a hill with a church or convent on the top.

The Drawiug is in the Print Room of the British Museum. It is not known to have been etched or engraved in Turner's lifetime, but a copper-plate found in his house at his death, which is now in my possession, shows the outline of the subject faintly traced.

Mr. Frank Short, A.R.A., has etched and engraved this fine Drawing.

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PL. 97. *MOONLIGHT ON A RIVER. (LUCERNE?).*

Moonlight. A broad river with town on high left bank. Wooden bridge in mid-distance, with high tower at left end dark against sky. Houses on low right bank. In distance mountain slope beyond bridge. Boats and figures roughly indicated on extreme right.

The Drawing is in the National Gallery (Vaughan bequest). It is not known to have been etched or engraved in Turner's lifetime.

Mr. Frank Short, A.R.A., has admirably engraved this Drawing, in pure mezzotint.

(97)

MOONLIGHT ON A RIVER — CLAIR DE LUNE SUR UN FLEUVE

MONDLICHT AUF EINEM FLUSS

(Tate Gallery, London)

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PL. 98. *SHIPPING AT THE ENTRANCE OF THE MEDWAY.*

The mouth of the Medway. In centre, large merchantman close hauled, running up. Frigate on right, putting out to sea. Fishing boats and buoy in front. In distance, to left, sheer-hulk and ships of war. Beyond, to right, distant line of masts.

The Drawing is in the possession of Mr. Gerald Robinson. It is not known to have been etched or engraved in Turner's lifetime.

Mr. Frank Short, A.R.A., has etched and engraved this Drawing.

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PL. 99. *THE 'VICTORY' COMING UP CHANNEL WITH THE BODY OF NELSON ON BOARD.*

The 'Victory,' in three positions, beating up Channel. Brig in distance to left. Two fishing-boats in front hauling in nets. A white squall coming up.

The Drawing is in the National Gallery (Vaughan bequest). It is taken with slight alterations from the oil Picture formerly at Farnley, and now in the possession of Sir Donald Currie, Bart. It is not known to have been etched or engraved in Turner's lifetime.

Mr. Frank Short, A.R.A., has commenced (1906) an engraving of this Drawing, but at present he is not able to obtain access to the oil Picture.

N.B.—In the National Gallery, along with the other Liber Studiorum Drawings, are four or five sketches in sepia, similar in character, which there is little doubt were intended as alternative subjects for the work, as explained on p. 168. One of these—*A Pastoral*—I included in the First Edition of this Catalogue as Pl. 100. It has since been engraved by Mr. Frank Short, A.R.A.

END OF THE CATALOGUE.

[*Eleven small unpublished mezzotint plates of very fine quality, engraved at some later date by Turner's own hand, are sometimes called 'The Sequels to the Liber Studiorum,' or 'The Little Liber.' I know however of no reason for connecting these with the Liber. I have referred to them in the Introduction* (*p.* xxiv), *and I hope in a future volume to describe them among the miscellaneous engraved works of Turner.*]

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APPENDICES.

(99)
THE "VICTORY" COMING UP CHANNEL LE "VICTOIRE" REMONTANT LA MANCHE
DIE "VICTORY" ÜBER DEN KANAL SEGELND
(*Tate Gallery, London*)

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APPENDIX A.

LETTERS FROM J. M. W. TURNER R.A., AND F. C. LEWIS, CHARLES TURNER, AND OTHER ENGRAVERS OF THE LIBER STUDIORUM; ALSO VARIOUS MEMORANDA BY JOHN PYE AND OTHERS.

JOHN PYE, the well-known line engraver, was an intimate friend and a great admirer of Turner. Although he was never employed on the Liber Studiorum, he was greatly interested in the work, and he acquired, during many years, an extensive and valuable collection of impressions. These were fortunately secured for the Print Room of the British Museum in 1869. Pye's collection comprised upwards of a hundred and fifty impressions, including many Engraver's Proofs; it was bought for the very moderate sum of five hundred pounds. With it Pye presented to the Print Room several highly interesting letters from Turner to F. C. Lewis, the first engraver of the Liber, and from Lewis to Pye; as well as a memorandum by the latter on the question of the number of impressions of the Liber plates which were printed: to this are attached certificates from the printer and some of the engravers.

Since the publication of the first edition of this Catalogue, several other equally important letters and memoranda in connection with the Liber, from Lewis, Charles Turner, Lupton, Clint, and other engravers, have come to light amongst Pye's papers and have appeared in Pye and Roget's *Notes and Memoranda respecting the Liber Studiorum of J. M. W. Turner R.A.* (Van Voorst, 1879). By the courtesy of Mr. J. L. Roget, I am enabled

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in the present edition to print the most important of these, in addition to the documents in the British Museum named above.

No. 1.—*Letter from J. M. W. Turner to John Girtin the engraver, brother of Thomas Girtin the Water-colour painter.* (Pye and Roget's *Notes on the Liber*, p. 48.)

"MR. GIRTIN: SIR,

"Be so good as to clear the marginal lines, which are at present very bad, double in some places and the etching over [them]. If we succeed I should like to have them engraved like Mr. Daniell's.[1] Respecting the Strength, don't be fearful. Let me see how the sky can be made to clear out, like a grain of aquatinta; and then the rest in proportion. As long as you can maintain clearness, be not timid as to depth; regard only the gradation of the Shadows.

You may be sure that I am rather anxious to see how the first answers, and therefore the sooner you can let me see a proof the more you will oblige

Your obedient Servant

"J. M. W. TURNER."

(*no date.*)

The above extremely interesting letter was doubtless written by Turner at the very beginning of his plans for the Liber—probably in 1806. John Girtin had just engraved in aquatint the masterly *Views in Paris and its*

[1] W. Daniell R.A., together with his brother Thomas Daniell, had recently drawn, engraved, printed in colours and published, a series of *Views in India*, in coloured aquatint. Subsequently, W. Daniell published in the same way a very fine series of large *Views of London and the Docks*, now very rare.

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Environs which his brother Thomas Girtin, the painter —the early friend and rival of Turner—had drawn and etched shortly before his death in 1802. Evidently Turner's first idea had been to follow a similar method in the Liber, *i.e.*, to employ aquatint over an etched outline. I have never been able to discover any trace of such an engraving by John Girtin as Turner refers to here. Evidently it was an experiment, and possibly it was the first attempt made at engraving a Liber plate. John Girtin, however, was not an engraver of the first rank, and the experiment was probably a failure. Anyhow Turner's next step was to have recourse to F. C. Lewis, the best aquatint engraver of the day, a letter to whom follows.

No. 2.—*Letter from J. M. W. Turner to F. C. Lewis.*[1] (*British Museum*).

"MR. LEWIS,

"I could wish you of course to get forward with the Etched plate[2] as soon as possible, only send me 12 *etchings* before you aquatint it. I have likewise put another drawing with the plate, if you can get on with it without an Etching *do so* and I will etch it afterward if you cannot send me another *prepared plate* when you send me the 12 Etchings and the Drawing back and then I will get it etched and send it to Salisbury St.[3] Send to me at West End Upper Mall Hammersmith, and if by the boat from Hungerford there is more chance of care being taken of the Etched plate.

"J. M. W. TURNER."

(*no date.*)

[1] The words in italics are underlined by Turner. I have not interfered with the punctuation.
[2] *The Bridge and Goats* (afterwards Plate 43 of the Liber).
[3] Lewis's address.

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No. 3.[1]—*Letter from the same to the same.* (*BM.*)

"SIR,

"I have sent you an Etched outline tinted as you desired [this is now with the Liber drawings in the National Gallery]—but [if] you cannot proceed without my Etching being exactly similar to the Drawing it is of little use in my etching them first—for cannot follow line by line with the Drawing—therefore I wish you to etch the one I now send,[2] and when you send it home send an etching ground over yours with a proof print—then what Etching is wanted I can add. I think this will be best way for to touch up an Etching is full as much trouble as to me as making the Drawing. So pray get this done immediately.

"Yours,
"J. M. W. TURNER.

"The new one is a view of Chepstow, therefore *it must not be reversed*, but made like the Drawing."

(*no date*)

[*The Bridge and Goats*, Lewis's first plate, had been reversed by him in engraving, but that did not matter as the subject was a composition.]

No. 4.—*Letter from the same to the same.* (*BM.*)

"SIR,

"I received the Proof and Drawing,[3] the Proof I like very well but do not think the grain[4] is as fine as

[1] The original of this Letter is not with the others. I have taken it from what appears to be a copy by Pye of the original, made in accordance with the instructions of Lewis in Letter No. 6 (postscript).
[2] *Chepstow Castle*, or *River Wye* (Pl. 48).
[3] *The Bridge and Goats* (Pl. 43).
[4] Of the aquatint.

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those you showed me for Mr. Chamberlain[1]—the effect of the Drawing is well preserved, but as you wish to raise the Price to eight guineas I must decline having the other Drawing[2] engraved—therefore send it when you send the plate, when they have arrived safe, the five guineas shall be left in Salisbury St. where you'll be so good as to leave a receipt for the same.

"Yours,

"J. M. W. TURNER."

"14 Dec. 1807,
Hammersmith."

No. 5.—*Later Letter* (1850) *from Lewis to John Pye.* (*BM.*)

"MY DEAR SIR,

"I have sent you one letter from Mr. Turner to me. As far as I can recollect I always considered that my plate[3] was the first that was engraved for Mr. Turner's beautiful work of Liber Studiorum.

"I ought not to have considered about the price of the plates any object compared to the fame for such fine works, but when you see the copies of two other letters[4] you will see I felt there would be some very troublesome matters respecting Mr. Turner's etching on my plate afterwards, and I feared damage of first biting if Etched afterwards, which would cause endless trouble, and at that time I was busied in engraving Facsimiles of the fine works of Claude Lorraine, Raffaele and Michael Angelo, and other masters of the Royal Collection—but had Mr. Turner etched them for me I certainly would not have

[1] J. Chamberlayne, the publisher of various plates in aquatint about this time.
[2] *Chepstow Castle* (Pl. 48).
[3] *The Bridge and Goats*, afterwards Pl. 43.
[4] Letters 2 and 3 above.

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hesitated and would have gladly done them for the low sum that he offered when he first came to me about the work.

"I am
"Very faithfully yours,
"F. C. LEWIS."

"Oct. 3, 1850.
53 Charlotte St.,
Portland Place."

No. 6.—*Letter from the same to the same.* (*BM.*)

"MY DEAR SIR,

"In addition to my last note to you I think I omitted to tell you that the reason I declined engraving Mr. Turner's Liber Studiorum work was on account of my great engagement with Mr. Chamberlain, for whom I engraved the collection of Claude Drawings from the Royal Collection.

"I only engraved one plate for Mr. Turner, which was etched by himself, and he requested me to go on and sent me two other Drawings and said I must etch them myself. I replied that the charge would be eight guis.—but he said no I will give no more and [*here illegible*] . . . . the charge for those plates should be fifteen guis.

"I was paid for the Claudes fifteen 20—30—40 guis. according to the size of the plates. I will see if I have any of the letters of Mr. Turner that will throw any light on that beautiful work of Liber Studiorum.

"Very faithfully yours,
"F. C. LEWIS."

"Sept. 20, 1852.
"To J. C. PYE, Esq."

"(P.S.) I have found another letter[1] which you can

[1] This I take to be Letter 4.

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copy and return to me. I also send you the one you have had a copy of, which you can look over and return to me."

No. 7.—*Quotation from Letter from Charles Turner the engraver, to John Pye in* 1852, (*the year after Turner's death*). (Pye and Roget, p. 60.)

"I had the pleasure to engrave twenty-five of the plates, for eight guineas each, but finding that I could not do justice to myself, I solicited two guineas more, which he would not grant, and a misunderstanding was the consequence which lasted nineteen years. The Windsor[1] was then begun but has never been published in the work."

No. 8.—*Memorandum by Pye of conversations with Charles Turner respecting the Liber.* (Pye and Roget, p. 61.)

"Mr. C. Turner told me that previously to the publication of the fourth number, the great man called upon him in a very bad humour and said:

"'This is a pretty business, why I find that some of the *Liber* prints have been stolen.'

"*Mr. Charles Turner.*—'Well! do you suppose I stole them?'

"*Turner.*—'I don't say who stole them.'

"*Mr. C. T.*—'How do you know that some of them have been stolen?'

"*Turner.*—'Why because many proofs are about that have never been published. I have seen some of them

[1] Pl. 74, Unpublished.

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for sale without needle-holes in their margins; which could not be if they had not been stolen.'

"'This affair (continued Mr. C. Turner) made a quarrel between us that lasted for many years.'"

The sequel is related by Pye, under his own signature:

"The great painter having threatened with an action the dealer in whose shop-window the proofs had been exposed for sale, he brought forward a woman of whom he had bought them. She proved to be the person the great painter employed to stitch together the prints of the Liber in numbers. This person declared that the prints she had sold were her own, for that Mr. Turner had given them to her instead of money, when she pressed him for the amount due to her for the labour she had performed, and that she sold them to enable herself to get bread."

No. 9.—*A similar Memorandum.* (Pye and Roget, p. 78.)

"Mr. Charles Turner told me," says Pye, "that he at one time had so many proofs of the plates in different states that he gave them to the servants to light the fire with, and that he little thought at that time of the robbery he was committing on his children, through his ignorance of the real value of what he gave to be burnt. . . . 'How unconscious was I while doing so,' he ejaculated, 'that I was robbing my children of a fortune.' He continued: 'Why a few days after I had sold to Colnaghi my proofs, and thought I had done well, a gentleman called at my house and enquired of me whether I had any proofs of my plates engraved after the great man, finished or unfinished. But, to my regret, I found that Colnaghi had cleared me out, with the exception of one, and that one was the first ever printed from my plate of

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The Wreck,[1] which had been to me till then more worthless than blank paper, because I could make no use of it. This I produced without any expectation of selling it. But my visitor was so delighted at seeing it that I asked him twenty guineas for it; and in exchange I received from him a cheque on his banker for that sum.' "

No. 10.—*A similar Memorandum.* (Pye and Roget, p. 79.)

How Charles Turner became possessed of so large a number of proofs of the finished plates, "he accounted for," says Pye, "by the following interesting anecdote, which he related to me, as well as to many other persons:

"While I was engraving the plates of the Liber," said he, "the great man often called on me. . . . When my first plate was finished, and I showed my great namesake a proof of it, he said, 'I like this, Charley, you must get me a dozen proofs of it.' . . . Several times he said, 'Charley, I should like to have a dozen proofs of that plate.' Of course I got the proofs and paid for them, and also the like number of all the other plates which I engraved for the work.[2] But some years afterwards, when I quarreled with him, I asked him for the money that I had paid for the printing of the proofs. He said 'I shan't pay you for I never ordered them.' So they remained in my hands. So, as they were in my possession at the time of his death, and I had been lying out of the money, I paid myself for printing them, after more than thirty years, by selling them to Colnaghi."

[1] *The Shipwreck*, a large mezzotint after the oil Picture in the National Gallery.

[2] Charles Turner was, at the time referred to, the publisher as well as the engraver of the Liber Studiorum.

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No. 11.—*Letter from G. Clint (an engraver of the Liber) to John Pye.* (Pye and Roget, p. 66.)

"Peckham.
"Oct. 5th 1850.

"My dear Sir,

"In accordance with your wishes regarding the Liber Studiorum, I find my memory not very exact, I cannot now say whether I received five guineas for each plate or six; but my pupil, Mr. Thomas Lupton, whose memory I hold to be better than my own, thinks I had the latter sum. I know that I gave the plates up on account of the inadequacy of the price.

"Yours very sincerely
"George Clint."

"John Pye, Esq."

No. 12.—*Letter from T. Lupton (another engraver of the Liber) to John Pye.* (Pye and Roget, p. 64.)

"4 Keppel Street,
"Russell Square
"Oct. 1848."

"My dear Sir,

"At your request, I send you the following account of my *first* engraving. It was for the immortal Turner. Upon my completing my apprenticeship with my much valued friend and master, Clint, I frequently waited upon Turner with proofs of the *Liber Studiorum* plates (in progress). This introduction enabled me to solicit for myself a subject to engrave, to which solicitation he replied: 'How do I know what you can do?' 'Nor do I myself know, unless you try me,' I said; 'but if you will

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favour me with a subject, and don't like the engraving when done, we will destroy it.' He good-naturedly said, 'Well, tell me what I am to pay you.' Now, recollecting that my old master's price for a plate was only six guineas, I thought it prudent to say five. He immediately put into my hands a slight but beautiful drawing in bistre of Solway Moss. I anxiously laboured at my plate. It was done, and with the painter's aid successfully done; and placed me at once among my brother scrapers, an artist.

"My aspirations were so far satisfied, if not my pocket. The pounds, shillings, and pence of the affair ran thus. Copper plate, 7*s.* 6*d.* mezzotint ground, 15*s.* My own labour, seven or eight weeks. As to provings, innumerable, resulting from the difficulty of obtaining an agreeable colour as nearly approaching that of the drawing as possible; consequently the proving was not only difficult but expensive, even to the amount of two or three shillings each time.

"Yours, my dear Sir, very faithfully,
THOMAS LUPTON."

JOHN PYE, Esq."

"N.B. I have forgot the beginning. The engraver had also to lay the etching ground and trace the subject on the plate for the painter to etch, which was his uniform practice. T. L."

No. 13.—*Memorandum by John Pye respecting Proofs of Liber plates engraved by Lupton.* (Pye and Roget, p. 63.)

"During several years," Pye writes, "I sought in vain to obtain proofs of the plates engraved by Mr. Lupton for the *Liber*. That gentleman assured me that he could

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neither supply me with them nor refer me to any of his friends who were possessed of them. On my expressing to him my surprise at his statement, he replied: 'The fact is, Pye, the remuneration I obtained for engraving those plates did not enable me to pay for printing unnecessary proofs of them!"

"For each of Mr. Lupton's four plates," continues Pye, "he received five guineas. It was not until 1852 that I was enabled to obtain a proof of *Ben Arthur*. For that I paid five guineas, *i.e.* exactly the price he received for engraving the plate."

No. 14.—*Letter from the late Mr. Dominic Colnaghi respecting the transactions of his firm with Turner over the Liber Studiorum.* (Pye and Roget, p. 73.)

"Pall Mall East
"July 30 1852.

"My dear Sir,

"The first *Liber Studiorum* transaction our house had with the late great artist, J. M. W. Turner, was to pay ready money for any of the work we might wish to have, for which he allowed us a discount of 20 per cent. Two or three years afterwards he diminished the allowance to 10 per cent.

"About four years since, I received an order for a set of the work. As usual, I sent to his house for it with the money. He was not in London; but his housekeeper furnished my messenger with a copy, but had received orders from her master not to allow more than 5 per cent. The money (£14) was of course paid, and I thought no more about the transaction. But some five or six weeks after, I received a visit from Mr. Turner, and in

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his rather uncourteous manner he said, 'You owe me fourteen shillings.' 'I was not aware of being indebted to you,' said I. He explained that before he left town, he had made up his mind not to make any allowance to the trade on sales. He acknowledged that he was not quite certain of having mentioned this determination of his to his housekeeper, but still he thought I owed him the money. I then took some silver out of my pocket, and, offering it to him, I said, 'If you really think I owe you the money, take it,' which he felt very much inclined to do, but I suppose an unusual fit of liberality came across him, and he said, 'No, not this time, but recollect, in future, no discount to the trade.' 'But,' said I, 'in that case how are we to live?' 'That's no affair of mine,' said he. Upon which we shook hands and parted. This was the last transaction I ever had with him, and the last time I ever saw him.

"Believe me, my dear Sir,
"Most faithfully yours,
"D. COLNAGHI."

"JOHN PYE, Esq."

To the above Pye adds:

"The terms of publication were unfavourable to its success, for it was published by the great painter himself, who required to be paid for each part ready money; besides, the allowance he made to print-sellers for dealing in it was so much under that which they required, that the *Liber Studiorum* was never fairly placed before the world."

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No. 15.—*Memorandum by John Pye as regards the retouching and repairing of the Liber plates, and the marks denoting "States," etc.* (Pye and Roget, p. 66 seq.)

"The class of Landscape to which the subjects respectively belong is denoted by the capital letter, or letters, on the upper part of the margin of each plate. These letters, in the early published parts of the work, also distinguished *proof* from *print* impressions. They are merely outlined in proofs. In prints, a different, though varying, character is imparted to them. Some of them are black, some tinted [*shaded*]; whilst others are only distinguishable owing to one of the mere outlines used for proofs having been rendered stronger than the rest. . . . When some twenty proofs had been printed, the open letters were thus made black, or otherwise so changed as to enable the amateur collector to distinguish proof from print impressions.

"On the publication of the first twenty plates in four parts, the conducting of the work" (which had hitherto been engraved and published by his namesake, Charles Turner) "passed into the hands of the great painter himself. He himself repaired the plates, had the writing on the margin indicative of print impressions cleared off and replaced by writing indicative of proofs, and reissued to the public proof impressions of the subjects in their repaired state, at an advance of price. The work the great painter continued to publish himself; he repaired the plates again and again, but he never again reinserted on the margins of the plates the letters which were necessary to enable the public to distinguish proof from print impressions; for each of the impressions printed after the publication of the fourth part proclaimed itself, by its marginal letter, to be a proof. . . .

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"All the changes of effect made in the subjects of the plates during their wear under the printer's hand, were produced by Turner himself. Hence each act of repair or regeneration, instead of bringing the subject back to its original state, presents it to the view endowed with new features of effect . . . but, the etched outlines of the subjects never having been worn by the printer's hand, the effect of *chiaroscuro* in which they were clothed, alone claimed his attention. The rapidity of wear in the *Liber* plates, and the consequent necessity for frequent reparations to enable them to produce a moderate number of impressions, explain at once how it comes to pass that there are, of each subject, so great a variety of qualities of impression. Turner himself superintended the printing of the plates, and made with his own hand all the required reparations. In so doing he rarely aimed at restoring the effect of a subject to its original state; on the contrary, he generally displayed his profound knowledge of *clair-obscur* and inventive power, by rendering the old engraved work applicable to the production of a new effect. The plate called 'The Calm' and the 'Inverary Pier' are remarkable evidences of this power. It [*the Pye Collection*] presents to view each of those subjects in four different effects.[1] . . .

"Turner evidently regarded each plate in its regenerated state as a new work." But the honest old engraver's opinion of the painter's conduct in these transactions appears more clearly in the following passage from his private memoranda:

"This withdrawal from the public of the means of distinguishing one class of impressions from another, by investing the bad with the mark that had in all times of

[1] I give the above, as Mr. Roget prints it, in Pye's own words. Whilst the latter's indictment is true in its main drift, there are however some points in which he is inaccurate, as well as others in which he cites what happened no doubt in several instances, as if it were applicable in every case.—W. G. R.

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engraving belonged only to the good, is one of the many remarkable features of this work, and perhaps the least creditable of any of them to the morality of the author."

No. 16.—*Memorandum drawn up by John Pye, and signed by the Printer and certain of the Engravers of the Liber Studiorum.* (*BM.*)

"The various subjects designed by J. M. W. Turner for the Liber Studiorum having been engraved between the years 1806 and 1820 on Plates of Copper, before Steel Plates came into general use among Engravers in England—It is deemed expedient to place on the opposite side of this a declaration of the incapacity of Mezzotinto Engraving on Copper Plates to produce more than from 20 to 30 good impressions. Signed by C. Turner and T. Lupton, two of the engravers of plates for the Liber, and by Mr. Lahee, who printed the Liber plates during many years.

(Signed) "JOHN PYE."

March, 1852.

DECLARATION REFERRED TO ABOVE.

"Having engraved 25 Plates of Liber Studiorum I beg to say that not more than from 25 to 30 Impressions were taken before they lost their power, being engraved on Copper.

(Signed) "C. TURNER."

"Having printed the plates of the Liber Studiorum I beg to say they were Copper and produced on the average from 20 to 30 proofs of a fine class.

(Signed) "S. LAHEE." Mar. 1, 1852.

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"As engraver of several of the plates of the Liber Studiorum I hereby certify to the truth of the above statement.

(Signed) "THOMAS LUPTON." Mar. 2, 1852.

[N.B.—*Some explanation is required of the above statements, in connection with what I have said in the* Introduction (p. xlviii), *concerning the large number of good impressions of the Liber which were discovered in Turner's house after his death, and sold by his executors at Christie's in* 1873.

In my estimate of that number, I include all 'First States' and most 'Second States'; I consider also that in many cases early 'Third States' are rightly to be called 'good.'—W. G. R.]

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APPENDIX B.

The Varying Styles of the Etchings of the Liber.

In the first edition of this Catalogue I drew attention to what appeared to me to be considerable differences in the style of certain of the Liber Etchings, all of which are nevertheless described on the plates as Turner's own work. I also pointed out some puzzling difficulties in the painter's notes for the engraver, on the margins of certain of the Etchings, and I further mentioned that I had found among the two volumes of proofs of the complete engraved work of William Say (which were bequeathed by him to his family, and given by his family to the British Museum), impressions of an Etching of the Liber —*Æsacus and Hesperie*, Pl. 66. The latter is claimed as having been not only etched but engraved throughout by Turner, and it therefore seemed difficult to see what Say could have had to do with it. I laid these difficulties before Sir Seymour Haden, hoping that his long interest in the Liber, and his personal acquaintance with the whole technique of etching and engraving, would enable him to clear up the points in question. As will be seen from the letter printed below, my hopes were justified. Sir Seymour finds the solution of all the difficulties in the fact, that although Turner no doubt did etch with his own hand every Liber plate which is claimed as his, *he did not 'bite-in' his Etchings himself, but entrusted this process to the professional engravers*, and it

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is to their different handling that the variations noticeable in the style of the Etchings are due. In addition, the notes to the engravers in Turner's handwriting on certain impressions of the Etchings, referred to above, as well as theirs to him, clearly show that he not unfrequently instructed them to make additions, or correct faults which either he or they had observed. Sir Seymour Haden's letter is as follows:

"38, Hertford Street, Mayfair,
"May 26, 1878.

"My dear Mr. Rawlinson,

"I am not surprised that you should feel some difficulty in accepting as Turner's work much that you find in those of the "Liber" plates which are professedly drawn and etched by him. For all that, I am of opinion that with certain obvious exceptions, the *drawing* on the plate was in every case made by Turner, and that the difference in the appearance of the resulting *etching* depends on the fact that the *biting-in* was by another hand. It is difficult for any one but a practical Etcher to understand how much of the *character* of the work depends on the biting, and I am clearly of opinion that although Turner drew,—and in that sense etched,—his subject on the plate, he did not bite it, but that he delegated this and such technical dealing with the plate as is involved in erasures and corrections, either to the engravers who were employed to mezzotint it, or to the expert who grounded and might also have been employed to bite it. This division of labour in engraved work is not uncommon and would be especially applicable to such exceptional plates as compose the Liber Studiorum. An artist who is not an expert in etching, but who sees the advantage of a forcible etching as the groundwork of a mezzotint plate projects, let us say, such a work as the "Liber," and proposes, as Turner did, to superintend

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the publication of it himself—How would he proceed? The work is to consist of upwards of 100 plates which have first to be grounded, then etched (*i.e.* drawn upon with a needle), then bitten, and then—the corrections in the etchings having been made—covered with the mezzotint ground, and finished by the mezzotinter. How much of all this in a work of such magnitude would such an artist as Turner, chary of his time, be likely to undertake to do himself? In my opinion, he would think he had done enough when he had furnished the subject, made the *drawing* of it on the plate, and superintended the biting and correction of that drawing, and that he would consider himself fully justified in inscribing on such a plate the words "Drawn and Etched by J. M. W. Turner." That much, and the laborious process of superintending its passage through the different hands engaged in finishing it, I see no reason whatever to doubt that Turner did, and that the apparent difference of handling which you have observed in the prefatory Etchings depends upon the biting, erasures, additions and corrections which the plate has received in the course of its passage towards completion.

"I hope you will think this explanation satisfactory and that it will solve your doubts as to all those plates which are claimed by Turner to be drawn and etched by himself. If it should fail to do so you have only, I think, to compare such plates as the two Farm-yards, both of which are undoubtly drawn upon the plate by Turner, but which have been bitten by different hands. So different are these plates in accent, colour, balance and general expression, that you would suppose they had been *drawn* on the plate by different people. However, I am persuaded that it is not so.

"Faithfully yours,

"F. Seymour Haden."

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Below are lists (A) of the Etchings which, although claimed as Turner's, had seemed to me either wholly or in part unlike his work, and (B) of those which are unquestionably or probably, not by him.

List (C) gives transcripts of instructions by Turner to the engravers concerning various Etchings, as well as their notes to him, in both cases, on the margins of impressions.

LIST (A).—ETCHINGS WHICH, ALTHOUGH CLAIMED ON THE PLATES AS TURNER'S OWN, SHOW APPARENT SIGNS OF WORK OTHER THAN HIS:

Basle (Pl. 5).

Lake of Thun (Pl. 15). See List (C) below.

Coast of Yorkshire (Pl. 24). Rocks in foreground?

Marine Dabblers (Pl. 29). Shading of boat on left.

Blair Athol (Pl. 30). Work on stones at extreme right.

Fairy Queen (Pl. 36).

Water Mill (Pl. 37). Foliage on extreme left, and on wall on right above horses.

Mildmay Sea-Piece (Pl. 40). Casks and timbers on left. This Etching has a great similarity in general effect to *River Wye* (Pl. 48), which was also engraved by Annis. Probably the biting-in and re-touching of the Etching was Annis's work.

River Wye (Pl. 48). Foreground herbage—compare the tameness of the effect here with Turner's own Etching in the foregrounds of *Frontispiece* (Pl. 1), *Isis* (Pl. 68), and others.

LIST (B).—ETCHINGS NOT CLAIMED BY TURNER AS HIS OWN, AND ETCHINGS OF UNPUBLISHED PLATES WHICH ARE PROBABLY NOT BY HIM.

Mill near the Grand Chartreuse (Pl. 54). Here probably

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Turner has touched up some one else's etching—possibly Dawe's; although the handling seems different from Dawe's as seen in Plates 60 and 64.

Raglan Castle (Pl. 58). This I think is also Dawe's etching; it is a different class of subject, but there seems a strong likeness in style to the two following.

Source of the Arveron (Pl. 60) and *Bonneville* (Pl. 64). The Etchings of both of these have always been ascribed to Dawe. They are very much alike in touch and general handling. Notice especially the *pines* in each.

Mr. Ruskin (*Elements of Drawing*, p. 133, note) says that *Dumblain Abbey* (Pl. 56) was not etched by Turner, but by Lupton. A letter however from Lupton to the late Mr. Henry Vaughan, distinctly states that Mr. Ruskin was mistaken, and that the Etching was Turner's own.

Eton, Ploughing (Pl. 79, Unpublished). Compare the First Etching (A), which is undoubtedly by Turner, with the Third (C) by Lupton.

Pan and Syrinx (Pl. 80, Unpublished). This Etching seems quite unlike Turner's work.

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LIST (C).—NOTES BY TURNER AND HIS ENGRAVERS ON THE MARGINS OF CERTAIN IMPRESSIONS OF THE ETCHINGS.

On an Etching of *Pembury Mill* (Pl. 12) Turner writes:

"This will do. The other plate you had better take a proof off; then put on a clear ground and let me have it to make good deficiencies. I have not the Etching-tools, send the Box."

On an Etching of the *Lake of Thun* (Pl. 15):

"This will do when the dry [point] is taken off—put out the dry point lines—add the few lines I have put in pencil, in dry point. [*here follows a row of strokes in pencil, corresponding to a similar row of pencil strokes on the water*] yet rather too strong."

On an Etching of *London from Greenwich* (Pl. 26):

"The Etching to be added between the Cupola the same strength as the distance and the few lines against the trees to be scraped if possible [*query erased?*]. 50 to be taken off to-morrow and sent to Hammersmith immediate."

On an Etching of *Norham Castle* (Pl. 57) (Reiss Sale, May, 1901), the engraver, Charles Turner, has written:

"Sir,

"Pray favour me with Touching this Proof in pencil where you wish more Etching, as by the stopping out, parts are not bit, and in future I will make an outline as it is impossible to alter much."

"I am, Sir,
Yours truly, C. Turner."

Turner, as requested, has added pencil markings for further work, which was carried out on the copper and appears on all the subsequent impressions.

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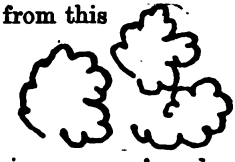
The following passages in a letter to me from Mr. Ruskin, written in 1878, just after the publication of the first edition of this Catalogue, gives his view on the subject of the Etchings:

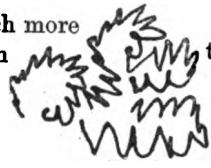
"Brantwood,
"Coniston, Lancashire.
"14th Nov. 78

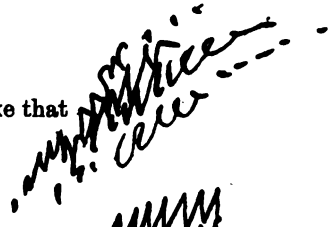
"My dear Sir

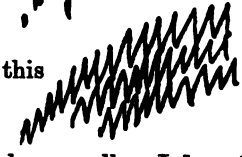
". . . There is only one part of it [*the Catalogue*] that needs some addition. You are very accurately right in your conjectures about Turner's and engravers' etchings—but you don't enough give the real grounds of judgment. . . .

"A Turner etching is only to be known from an engraver's, as his pen work would be known from an engraver's—that is to say, by his own mighty touch and ease of hand, having nothing whatever to do with *biting*.

That touch is entirely different from this 

much more from  this—&c.—which is engravers' work.

So, if Turner does a bit of pine like that 

the engraver does it like this  &c.&c.

You seem to know his hand nearly as well as I do;—but you don't say how. . . .

Ever most gratefully yours,
J. Ruskin."

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APPENDIX C.

Reproductions of the Liber Studiorum.

(I).—Plates etched and engraved on Steel by T. Lupton, 1858-1864.

The plates named below were admirably engraved by T. Lupton in 1858-1864 (after Turner's death), in exact facsimile of the originals, but on steel in place of copper. By a trained eye they can at once be distinguished from the originals, for, good as Lupton's work was, mezzotinting on steel never has the rich, raised effect of copper.

Lupton's plates are printed on a stout English hand-made paper, with the exception of *The Mill near the Grand Chartreuse*, which is on old French paper. They were commissioned by Messrs. Colnaghi and Co., and, as announced on the wrapper, they were to have been dedicated (by permission) to Mr. Ruskin. Thirty-six plates in all were planned, but the project fell through, and although the seventeen subjects named below were admirably etched and engraved, none of them were ever published. I have seen a few impressions—no doubt Trial Proofs—without any lettering, but the finished plates usually bear the inscriptions given beneath. The Etchings in no case have any lettering. Examples of the series are not often to be met with.

Plate No.

1. *The Frontispiece.
2. †The Bridge and Cows.
3. *The Woman and Tambourine.

* These have in the margin "Published by Colnaghi and Co., 1858."
† This has no publisher's name.

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Plate No.	
9.	Mount St. Gothard. (Etched only, I believe.)
12.	†Pembury Mill.
19.	*Little Devil's Bridge.
27.	†Windmill and Lock.
28.	Junction of Severn and Wye. (Unfinished.)
41.	†Procris and Cephalus.
44.	†Calm.
45.	†Peat Bog.
46.	*Rispah.
52.	*Solway Moss.
54.	††Mill near the Grand Chartreuse.
57.	†Norham Castle.
58.	*Raglan Castle.
60.	*Source of the Arveron.

* These have in the margin "Published by Colnaghi and Co., 1858."
† These have no publisher's name. *Peat Bog* and *Procris and Cephalus* are dated 1864.
†† This has in the margin "Engraved and published by Thomas Lupton, 4 Keppel St., Russell Square."

(II).—Reproductions of the Liber Studiorum by Mr. Frank Short, A.R.A., 1886-1906.

These reproductions of various Liber plates, Published and Unpublished, and of several of the Unengraved Drawings, are by far the most important which have been produced. Mr. Short adds to his technical excellence as a mezzotint engraver, a thorough knowledge and artistic appreciation of the work of Turner, founded on many years of study. He has re-engraved in facsimile, with entire success, thirteen of the Published plates, and also eight of those which were left unpublished, although they had been commenced and more or less completed, by Turner or his engravers.

He has also achieved the far more difficult task of

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reproducing eight of the sepia Drawings prepared by Turner for the work, but which were never engraved. The following list of Mr. Short's plates up to the present date (1906) has kindly been furnished me by him.

First Set.

(*The Subjects of these were chosen by Mr. Ruskin.*)

Plate No.	Title.	Date of Publication.
19.	Little Devil's Bridge . . .	1st June, 1886.
37.	Water Mill	1st Oct., 1885.
38.	Nymph at Well (Ruskin's title). Usually known as 'Woman at a Tank'	1st Nov., 1886.
40.	Sunset on Beach (Mildmay Sea-piece)	1st June, 1886.
41.	Procris and Cephalus . .	1st Aug., 1885.
49.	Chain of Alps, Grenoble . .	1st Nov., 1887.
52.	Solway Moss	1st Nov., 1887.
54.	Mill near the Grand Chartreuse	1st May, 1886.
58.	Raglan	1st Aug., 1885.
60.	Source of the Arveron . .	1st Nov., 1886.
64.	Bonneville	1st Nov., 1887.
69.	Ben Arthur	1st March, 1888.

The Titles are not engraved on any of the above plates. In one of the lower corners, within the Engraving, is etched a small shield with the engraver's monogram. On the margin is etched, "Frank Short, sculp. after J. M. W. Turner." This inscription appears on both the Etchings and the Engravings, and the latter have in addition, the publication line of Mr. Dunthorne of Vigo Street, London.

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Second Set.

[*The Titles, etc., given below are engraved on the finished plate; there is no Publication line. The Etchings are without Titles, and bear only the Artist's and Engraver's names and the date. Unless otherwise stated, each plate is etched in the same manner (ordinary or soft-ground), as originally in the Liber.*]

Plate No.	Title and Inscription.
66.	Æsacus and Hesperie. F. Short, sculp. after J. M. W. Turner R.A., 1896.
76.	Crowhurst, Sussex. F. Short, sculp. after J. M. W. Turner R.A., 1902.
78.	Via Mala. F. Short, sculp. after J. M. W. Turner R.A., 1896.
80.	Pan and Syrinx. Drawn by J. M. W. Turner R.A. Etched and engraved by F. Short, 1896. From an unpublished drawing for the Liber Studiorum in the British Museum.
81.	Stonehenge at Daybreak. [*No Etching.*] Drawn by J. M. W. Turner R.A. Engraved by F. Short, 1897. From an unpublished drawing for the Liber Studiorum in the possession of J. E. Taylor Esq.
83.	The Stork and Aqueduct. Drawn and etched by J. M. W. Turner R.A. Etched and engraved by F. Short, 1896.
84.	The Lost Sailor. [*No Etching.*] F. Short, sculp. after J. M. W. Turner R.A., 1896.
85.	Moonlight at Sea off the Isle of Wight. Drawn by J. M. W. Turner R.A. Engraved by F. Short, 1896. From an unpublished drawing for the Liber Studiorum in the possession of Henry Vaughan.
87.	Kingston Bank. Same as the preceding.
92.	Macon. Drawn by J. M. W. Turner R.A. Etched and engraved by F. Short, 1896. From an unpublished drawing for the Liber Studiorum in the possession of Henry Vaughan.

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Plate No.	Title and Inscription.
93.	Falls of the Rhine, Schaffhausen. Same as the preceding.
94.	Derwentwater. [Soft-ground Etching.] Same as the preceding.
96.	Huntsmen. Drawn by J. M. W. Turner R.A. Etched and engraved by F. Short, 1896. From an unpublished drawing for the Liber Studiorum in the British Museum.
97.	Lucerne. [*No Etching.*] Drawn by J. M. W. Turner R.A. Engraved by F. Short, 1896. From an unpublished drawing for the Liber Studiorum in the possession of Henry Vaughan, Esq.
98.	The Entrance of the Medway. [Soft-ground Etching.] Drawn by J. M. W. Turner R.A. Etched and engraved by F. Short, 1896. From an unpublished drawing for the Liber Studiorum in the possession of Mr. Gerald Robinson.
99.	The Victory coming up Channel. Drawn by J. M. W. Turner R.A. Etched and engraved by F. Short, 1906. From an unpublished drawing for the Liber Studiorum in the National Gallery.
100.	Pastoral. Drawn by J. M. W. Turner R.A. Etched and engraved by F. Short, 1896. From an unpublished drawing for the Liber Studiorum in the National Gallery.

[N.B.—*This last plate is not included in the present Edition for reasons given on page* 168.—W. G. R.]

(III).—Miscellaneous Reproductions.

In 1854 Messrs. Day and Son published reproductions of fifteen plates of the Liber in Lithography; these, although not without merit, do not call for detailed notice here.

There have been numerous photographic reproductions of the work, but so far they have been entirely unsuccessful. No ordinary photographic process appears able to

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render the effect of mezzotint engraving over deeply-bitten etching, and it is to this combination that the Liber owes so much of its character and charm.

The Etchings, however, lend themselves well to photography. A selection of about thirty was issued several years ago, under the direction of Professor Eliot Norton of Cambridge, U.S.A.

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NUMERICAL INDEX OF PLATES AND ENGRAVERS.

PUBLISHED PLATES.

Pl.	Name of Plate.	Initial Letter.	Engraver.	Page
1.	Frontispiece		*J. M. W. Turner & J. C. Easling*	9
PART I.				
2.	The Bridge and Cows	P.	*C. Turner*	12
3.	The Woman and Tambourine	E. P.	*C. Turner*	14
4.	Flint Castle—Vessels unloading	M.	*C. Turner*	16
5.	Basle	A.	*C. Turner*	18
6.	Jason	H.	*C. Turner*	20
PART II.				
7.	The Straw-yard	P.	*C. Turner*	24
8.	The Castle above the Meadows	E. P.	*C. Turner*	27
9.	Mont St. Gothard	M. S.	*C. Turner*	29
10.	Ships in a Breeze	M.	*C. Turner*	33
11.	Holy Island Cathedral	A.	*C. Turner*	35
PART III.				
12.	Pembury Mill, Kent	P.	*C. Turner*	37
13.	The Bridge in Middle Distance	E. P.	*C. Turner*	39
14.	Dunstanborough Castle	A.	*C. Turner*	41
15.	Lake of Thun	M.	*C. Turner*	44
16.	Fifth Plague of Egypt	H.	*C. Turner*	47
PART IV.				
17.	The Farm-yard with the Cock	P.	*C. Turner*	49
18.	Drawing of the Clyde	E. P.	*C. Turner*	51
19.	Little Devil's Bridge over the Russ	Mª	*C. Turner*	53
20.	Leader Sea-piece	M.	*C. Turner*	55
21.	Morpeth	A.	*C. Turner*	57
PART V.				
22.	Juvenile Tricks	P.	*W. Say*	59
23.	Hindoo Worshipper	E. P.	*R. Dunkarton*	60
24.	Coast of Yorkshire near Whitby	M.	*W. Say*	63

Digitized by Google

Pl.	Name of Plate.	Initial Letter.	Engraver.	Page
25.	Hind Head Hill	M.	*R. Dunkarton*	65
26.	London from Greenwich	A.	*C. Turner*	67
	PART VI.			
27.	Windmill and Lock	P.	*W. Say*	69
28.	Junction of Severn and Wye	E. P.	*J. M. W. Turner*	73
29.	Marine Dabblers	M.	*W. Say*	75
30.	Near Blair Athol, Scotland	M.	*W. Say*	76
31.	Lauffenbourgh	A.	*T. Hodgetts*	78
	PART VII.			
32.	Young Anglers	P.	*R. Dunkarton*	80
33.	St. Catherine's Hill near Guilford	E. P.	*J. C. Easling*	81
34.	Martello Towers near Bexhill, Sussex	M.	*W. Say*	83
35.	Inverary Pier, Loch Fyne—Morning	M.	*J. M. W. Turner*	85
36.	From Spenser's Fairy Queen	H.	*T. Hodgetts*	89
	PART VIII.			
37.	Water-Mill	P.	*R. Dunkarton*	90
38.	Scene in the Campagna	E. P.	*W. Say*	91
39.	Crypt of Kirkstall Abbey	A.	*J. M. W. Turner*	93
40.	Mildmay Sea-piece	M.	*W. Annis and J. C. Easling*	96
41.	Procris and Cephalus	H.	*G. Clint*	98
	PART IX.			
42.	Winchelsea, Sussex	P.	*J. C. Easling*	101
43.	The Bridge and Goats	E. P.	*F. C. Lewis*	103
44.	Calm	M.	*J. M. W. Turner*	106
45.	Peat Bog, Scotland	M.	*G. Clint*	109
46.	Rispah	H.	*R. Dunkarton*	111
	PART X.			
47.	Hedging and Ditching	P.	*J. C. Easling*	114
48.	River Wye	E. P.	*W. Annis*	116
49.	Chain of Alps from Grenoble to Chamberi	M.	*W. Say*	119
50.	Mer de Glace—Valley of Chamouni—Savoy	M.	*J. M. W. Turner*	121
51.	Rivaux Abbey, Yorkshire	A.	*H. Dawe*	123
	PART XI.			
52.	Solway Moss	P.	*Thos. Lupton*	125
53.	Solitude	E. P.	*W. Say*	129
54.	Mill near the Grand Chartreuse, Dauphiny	M.	*H. Dawe*	130
55.	Entrance to Calais Harbour	M.	*J. M. W. Turner*	132
56.	Dumblain Abbey, Scotland	A.	*Thos. Lupton*	135
	PART XII.			
57.	Norham Castle on the Tweed	P.	*C. Turner*	137
58.	Raglan Castle	E. P.	*J. M. W. Turner*	140

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Pl.	Name of Plate.	Initial Letter.	Engraver.	Page
59.	Ville de Thun, Switzerland	A.	*T. Hodgetts*	142
60.	Source of the Arveron in the Valley of Chamouni, Savoy	M.	*J. M. W. Turner*	143
61.	Tenth Plague of Egypt	H.	*W. Say*	146
PART XIII.				
62.	Watercress Gatherers	P.	*Thos. Lupton*	148
63.	The Alcove, Isleworth	E. P.	*H. Dawe*	149
64.	Bonneville, Savoy	M.	*H. Dawe*	151
65.	Inverary Castle and Town, Scotland	M.	*C. Turner*	153
66.	Æsacus and Hesperie	H.	*J. M. W. Turner*	155
PART XIV.				
67.	East Gate, Winchelsea, Sussex	P.	*S. W. Reynolds*	159
68.	Isis	E. P.	*W. Say*	160
69.	Ben Arthur, Scotland	M.	*Thos. Lupton*	162
70.	Interior of a Church	A.	*J. M. W. Turner*	164
71.	Christ and the Woman of Samaria	H.	*S. W. Reynolds*	166

UNPUBLISHED PLATES.

Pl.	Name of Plate.	Engraver.	Page
72.	Apuleia in search of Apuleius	*W. Say*	169
73.	Glaucus and Scylla	*W. Say*	171
74.	Sheep-washing, Windsor	*C. Turner*	172
75.	Dumbarton Rock	*Thos. Lupton*	174
76.	Crowhurst, Sussex	*Uncertain*	176
77.	Temple of Jupiter in the Island of Ægina	*H. Dawe (probably)*	177
78.	Swiss Bridge, Mont St. Gothard	*J. M. W. Turner*	179
79.	Ploughing, Eton	*Thos. Lupton*	180
80.	Pan and Syrinx	*Etched only*	183
81.	Stonehenge at Daybreak	*J. M. W. Turner*	184
82.	The Felucca	*H. Dawe (probably)*	185
83.	The Stork and Aqueduct	*H. Dawe (probably)*	186
84.	The Lost Sailor	*J. M. W. Turner*	187
85.	Moonlight at Sea—The Needles	*J. M. W. Turner*	189
86.	Moonlight on the Medway at Chatham	*H. Dawe (probably)*	191
87.	Kingston Bank	*J. M. W. Turner*	192
88.	The Deluge	*J. M. W. Turner*	193
89.	Flounder Fishing, Battersea	*J. M. W. Turner*	194
90.	Narcissus and Echo	*J. M. W. Turner*	195
91.	Sand Bank with Gipsies	*J. M. W. Turner*	196
92.	View of a River from a Terrace—Macon?	*Unengraved*	197
93.	Falls of the Rhine, Schaffhausen	*do.*	198
94.	View of a Lake—Derwentwater?	*do.*	199

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Pl.	Name of Plate.	Engraver.	Pa
95.	Sion House, Isleworth	*Unengraved* . .	20
96.	Huntsmen in a Wood	*do.* . . .	20
97.	Moonlight on a River—Lucerne? . . .	*do.* . . .	20
98.	Shipping at the Entrance of the Medway	*do.* . . .	20
99.	The 'Victory' coming up Channel with the body of Nelson on board . . .	*do.* . . .	20

Digitized by Google

ALPHABETICAL INDEX OF PLATES.

	PAGE
Ægina, Temple of Jupiter in	177
Alcove, the, Isleworth	149
Anglers, Young	80
Æsacus and Hesperie	155
Apuleia in search of Apuleius	169
Aqueduct and Stork	186
Arveron, Source of	143
Barges on the Medway—Moonlight	191
Basle	18
Battersea, Flounder Fishing	194
Ben Arthur	162
Bexhill	83
Blair Athol	76
Bonneville	151
Bridge and Cows	12
Bridge and Goats	103
Bridge in Middle Distance	39
Calais Harbour, Entrance of	131
Calm	106
Campagna, Scene in	91
Castle above the Meadows	27
Cephalus and Procris	98
Chain of Alps from Grenoble to Chamberi	119
Chamouni, Mer de Glace	121
Chamouni, Source of the Arveron	143
Chatham—Moonlight	191
Chepstow Castle	116
Christ and the Woman of Samaria	166
Church, Interior of	164
Clyde, Drawing of the	51
Coast of Yorkshire	63
Crowhurst	176
Crypt of Kirkstall Abbey	93
Deluge	193
Derwentwater	199

Digitized by Google

PAGE
Devil's Bridge, Little 53
Dumbarton Rock 174
Dumblain Abbey 135
Dunstanborough Castle 41
East Gate, Winchelsea 159
Egremont Sea-piece 33
Egypt, Fifth Plague of 47
Egypt, Tenth Plague of 146
Entrance of Calais Harbour 131
Eton—Ploughing 180
Fairy Queen, Spenser's 89
Falls of the Rhine 198
Farm-yard with the Cock 49
Felucca 185
Fifth Plague of Egypt 47
Flint Castle 16
Flounder Fishing, Battersea 194
Frontispiece 9
Garrick's Temple and Hampton Church 149
Gipsies, Sandbank with 196
Glaucus and Scylla 171
Grand Chartreuse 130
Greenwich, London from 67
Grenoble 119
Guardship at the Nore 55
Guilford, St. Catherine's Hill 81
Hedging and Ditching 114
Heron's Pool 186
Hind Head Hill 65
Hindoo Ablutions 91
Hindoo Devotions 60
Hindoo Worshipper 60
Holy Island Cathedral 35
Huntsmen in a Wood 201
Interior of a Church 164
Inverary Castle and Town 153
Inverary Pier 85
Isis 160
Isleworth, The Alcove 149
Jason 20
Junction of Severn and Wye 73
Juvenile Tricks 59
Kingston Bank 192
Kirkstall Crypt 93
Lake of Thun 44
Lauffenbourgh 78

Digitized by Google

PAGE
Leader Sea-piece 55
Little Devil's Bridge 53
Loch Fyne, Inverary Pier 85
Lock and Windmill 69
London from Greenwich 67
Lost Sailor 187
Lucerne—Moonlight 202
Macon 197
Magdalen Reading 129
Marine Dabblers 75
Martello Towers 83
Medway, Moonlight on 191
Medway, Entrance of 203
Mer de Glace 121
Mildmay Sea-piece 96
Mill near the Grand Chartreuse 130
Mont St. Gothard 29
Mont St. Gothard, Swiss Bridge 179
Moonlight—Chatham 191
Moonlight—Lucerne 202
Moonlight at Sea—The Needles 189
Morpeth 57
Narcissus and Echo 195
Needles, The 189
Norham Castle 137
Oakhampton Castle 27
Pan and Syrinx 183
Pastoral with the White Cow 27
Peat Bog 109
Pembury Mill 37
Ploughing—Eton 180
Pope's Villa, Twickenham 149
Premium Landscape 169
Procris and Cephalus 98
Raglan Castle 140
Reading Magdalen 129
Rispah 111
Rivaux Abbey 123
River Wye 116
St. Catherine's Hill 81
St. Gothard, Mont 29
Salt Hill, Windsor 172
Sand Bank with Gipsies 196
Scene in the Campagna 91
Schafthausen 198
Sea-piece, Egremont 33

Digitized by Google

PAGE
Sea-piece, Leader 55
Sea-piece, Mildmay 96
Severn and Wye, Junction of 73
Sheep-washing, Windsor 172
Shipping at the Entrance of the Medway 203
Ships in a Breeze 33
Shipwrecked Man 187
Sion House 200
Solitude 129
Solway Moss 125
Source of the Arveron 143
Spenser's Fairy Queen 89
Stonehenge 184
Stork and Aqueduct 186
Storm over the Lizard 187
Straw-yard 24
Sun between Trees 39
Swiss Bridge 179
Tambourine Landscape 114
Temple of Isis 60
Temple of Jupiter 177
Tenth Plague of Egypt 146
Thun, Lake of 44
Thun, Ville de 142
Twickenham, Pope's Villa 149
Via Mala 179
'Victory,' The, coming up Channel 204
View of a Lake 199
View of a River from a Terrace 197
Ville de Thun 142
Watercress Gatherers 148
Water-Mill 90
Whitby, Coast of Yorkshire, near 63
Winchelsea, East Gate 159
Winchelsea, Sussex 101
Windmill and Lock 69
Windsor Castle from Salt Hill 172
Windsor, Sheep-washing 172
Woman and Tambourine 14
Woman at a Tank 91
Woman of Samaria 166
Wye and Severn, Junction of 73
Wye, River 116
Yorkshire, Coast of 63
Young Anglers 80

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